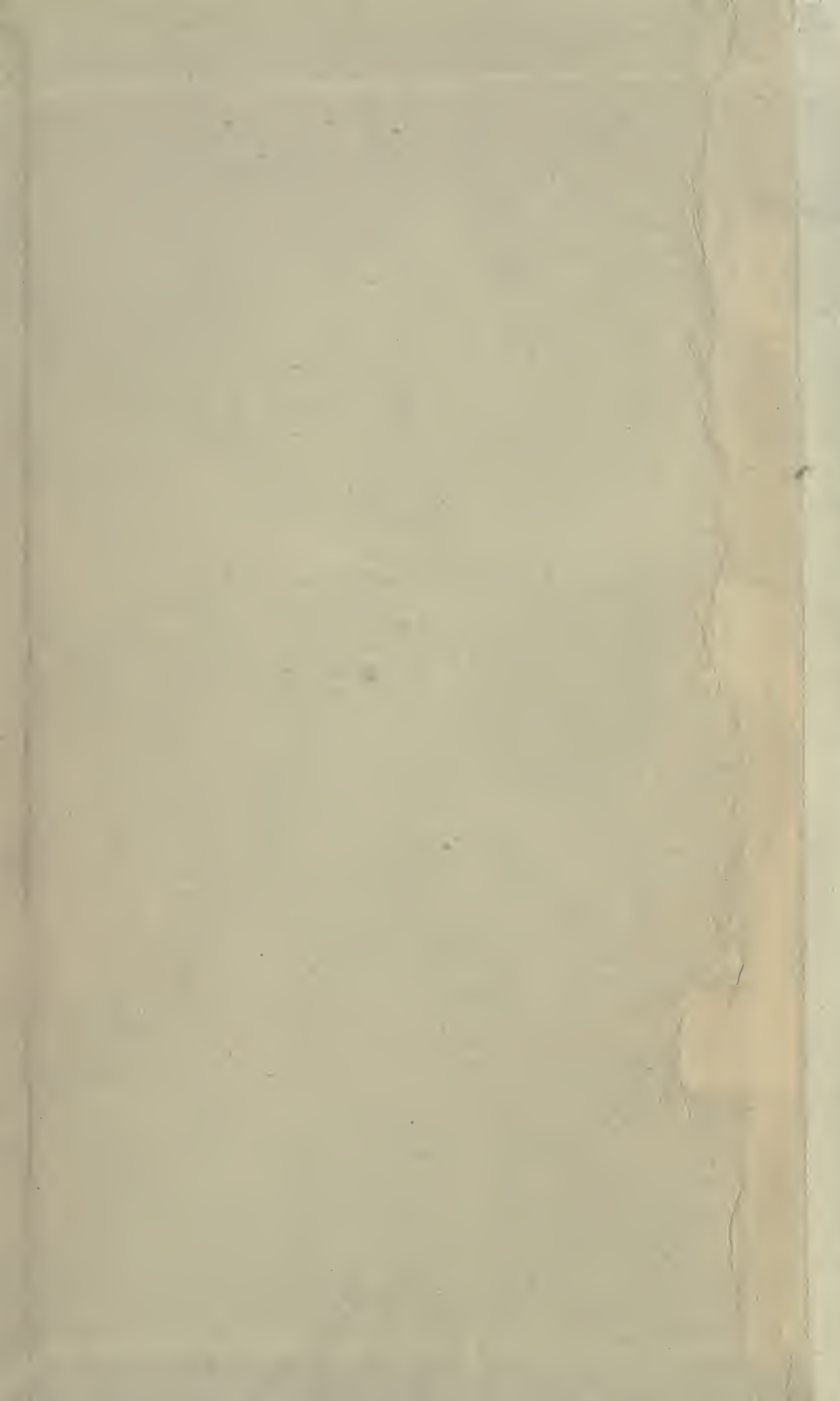


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NOTICES.

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THE HOME COUNTIES MAGAZINE
VOL. XIV

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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THE
HOME COUNTIES
MAGAZINE

111

*Devoted to the Topography of London, Middlesex,
Essex, Herts, Bucks, Berks, Surrey,
Kent, and Sussex*

EDITED BY W. PALEY BAILDON, F.S.A.

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The Old Church at Long Ditton.

From a water-colour drawing by E. E. Stoodley, Esq., C.B., in the possession of A. W. Cousins, Esq.

LONG DITTON.

By C. L. LAVERS-SMITH.

LONG DITTON is a village and parish in the Deanery of Ewell, comprising the two manors of Long Ditton and Tolworth, which are separated, the one from the other, by the parish of Kingston.

The principal buildings are the church, erected in 1880, of which I shall speak later on, the National Schools, built in 1873, the Parish Hall and Workmen's Club, and the rectory. The latter is a picturesque, half-timbered building of the Tudor period; to it was added by the Rev. Jervis T. Giffard (who preceded the late Mr. Hughes in the living) a wing, the architecture of which does not harmonize with the main structure.

The living is a rectory in the Rural Deanery of Kingston, with a rent charge, and about fifteen acres of glebe, and is in the gift of Mr. Thomas B. Hughes, the brother of the late Rector.

Ecclesiastically the parish has had a remarkable experience: originally in the diocese of Winchester, it was transferred years ago to Rochester, and is now in Southwark.

The name of Ditton¹ is not uncommon in England, and may perhaps be derived from the dykes along the banks of the Thames; this derivation, if correct, would point to Thames Ditton being the earlier settlement. At the time of the Domesday Survey, one Picot held Ditune of Richard Fitz Gilbert, and answered for four hides; Almar had been the Saxon owner, who had answered for five hides. In the time of Edward the Confessor it was worth 60s. a year; after the Conquest the value fell to 30s.; but it was recovering, and in 1087 was worth 50s. In the reign of John the manor of Long Ditton appears to have belonged to Geoffrey de Mandeville, Earl of Essex, and to have been granted by him to the Prior and Convent of St. Mary without Bishops-

¹ Qy. Dyketon or town, derived from the Anglo-Saxon *dic*, the root word which supplies us with the word *dig*. Dyke, either a ditch or a mound.

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gate, London, who, after an intermediate seizure by the officers of the Crown, obtained possession of the estate. The manor, with other monastic estates, was seized by Henry VIII in 1537, and in 1553 Edward VI granted it to David Vincent, Keeper of the Wardrobe, to whom the King left a legacy of £100.

David Vincent¹ died in 1565, leaving Thomas, his son and heir, who in 1567 sold the manor to George Evelyn, son of John Evelyn of Kingston, who had married his sister. This gentleman, who first settled at Long Ditton, subsequently removed to Godstone, and afterwards to Wootton, where he died in 1603. He was largely engaged in the manufacture of gunpowder, and established works in the three places mentioned, those in Long Ditton being on the banks of the Hogs Mill River, a small stream at Worcester Park, the remains of which, I believe, are still visible. This George was the great-grandfather of Sir Edward Evelyn, who inherited the Long Ditton property; the Wootton estate went to Richard, George's fourth son, father of John, the celebrated diarist. Sir Edward, who lived in the Manor House, occupies a prominent position in the annals of Long Ditton.

His memorial stone, together with several others of the Evelyn family, is to be seen in the ruins of the chancel of the old church. He died in 1692, and left his property to his daughter Penelope, who married Sir Joseph Alston. Their second son, succeeding on the death without issue of an elder brother, about 1721, sold the manor of Long Ditton to Sir Peter King, afterwards Lord Chancellor, whose descendant, Ralph, Earl of Lovelace, died in 1906, and left it to his wife, the present owner.

The manor of Tolworth, forming part of the parish of Long Ditton, also belonged to the Evelyns. Sir Edward Evelyn left this portion of his estate to his eldest daughter, wife of Sir William Glynn. It passed through many hands, and is now in the possession of the Earl of Egmont.

The advowson belonged to the Priory of Merton at an early period, and the right was fully established by the verdict of a jury at Guildford in the reign of Edward I, when a trial took place on an adverse claim by the Prior of St. Mary without Bishopsgate, the owner of the manor. Afterwards the patronage descended, with the manor, through the Evelyns

¹ Ancestor of Sir William Vincent, Bart., of D'Abernon Chase, Leatherhead.

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to the Alston family. In 1719 Sir Edward Alston sold it to the Rector, Dr. Joseph Clarke, by whom, under the authority of an Act of Parliament passed in 1753, it was again disposed of to Mrs. Pennicott. That lady in 1758 presented her son to the living, and in 1770 sold the advowson to the Warden and Fellows of New College, Oxford. They again sold it to Mrs. Masterman in 1889, who sold it in 1903 to Mr. Thomas B. Hughes, in whom the patronage is now vested.

I now come to that part of my story which more particularly concerns the inhabitants of Long Ditton, viz., the Minutes of the Vestry Meetings. The book in which these are recorded was the gift of Sir Edward Evelyn in 1663, the Rev. Robert Pocock being then Rector.

I may mention that extracts from these Minutes, with explanatory notes, were published in the Parish Magazine, from month to month, commencing December, 1893, under the head of "Our Parish Records," but they have never been collected and published in book form.

Before dealing with these records, which begin in 1663, it will be well if I refer to the period immediately preceding the Restoration, and more particularly as to the condition of the church during the Commonwealth.

Richard Byfield, who was inducted to the rectory in 1627, was a Presbyterian, the patron of the living being Sir John Evelyn, who was probably also a Presbyterian, as he was a member of the Long Parliament during Cromwell's Protectorate.

Both Byfield and Evelyn appear to have been well known to Cromwell, for a difference having arisen between the Rector and his patron over the repairs to the church, Cromwell effected their reconciliation.

The story is quaintly told by Calamy, the Puritan historian and author of *The Nonconformist's Memorial*. He says :

There once happened a great difference between Byfield and his Patron, Sir John Evelyn, about repairing the Church. Mr. Byfield complained to Cromwell, their Protector, who got them both together to reconcile them. Sir John said that Byfield reflected on him in his sermons. Mr. Byfield most solemnly declared that he never intended any reflection upon him. Oliver thereupon turning to Sir John said, "Sir, I doubt there is something indeed amiss. The word of God is penetrating and finds you out. Search your ways." This he

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spoke so pathetically, even with tears, that Sir John, Mr. Byfield, and others present, wept also. The Protector, before he dismissed them, made them good friends. To bind the friendship the faster, he ordered his Secretary to pay Sir John Evelyn £100 towards the repairs of the Church.

In a later edition of the *Memorials*, Calamy, speaking of Byfield, says: "At Long Ditton he became Reformer of the Church of Superstitions (as he called it) plucking up the steps leading to the Altar and denying the Sacrament to his parishioners and to his patron unless they would take it in any way except kneeling." No wonder that when the Act of Uniformity was passed after the Restoration, by which he was required to subscribe to the Thirty-Nine Articles and use only the Book of Common Prayer, he refused to comply, and was ejected.

Byfield had previously been appointed one of the Assistant-Commissioners for Surrey, under the Ordinance of June 29, 1654, for the ejection of scandalous, etc., Ministers and Schoolmasters. On leaving Long Ditton he went to Mortlake, where he died in 1664, and was buried in Mortlake Church. He is described as a man of high character for personal piety. As to his zeal there can be no doubt. He was the author of some devotional works and treatises, one of which, published in 1641, was entitled *The Power of the Christ of God*. He describes himself as "Pastor in Long Ditton, Surrey," not as Rector. In his prefatory address to the reader he denounces Bishops and Archbishops, Deans and Archdeacons, as usurpers, and applauds the Presbytery, "God's own Institution."

Byfield was ejected from the Rectory in 1662, having held the living thirty-five years. He was succeeded by the Rev. Henry Hesketh,¹ who was instituted on July 24, 1663, on the presentation of Dame Anne Evelyn. What became of him I do not know, but in 1665 Dame Anne presented the Rev. Robert Pocock, M.A., who was instituted on October 26 of that year; he died in 1721, having been rector for fifty-six years.

The principal source of information concerning the parish at this period is the record of the Vestry Meetings, already referred to. The first few years, from 1663 to 1679, contain

¹ His name is omitted from the list of Rectors inscribed on a tablet in the church.

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little more than the names of the various parish officers, who were elected yearly on Easter Monday, their election being confirmed by the Magistrates. These officials consisted of two Churchwardens, two Overseers of the Poor, two Constables, two Headboroughs or Assistant Constables, and two Surveyors of the Highways, one each for Long Ditton and Tolworth, or Talworth, as it was often spelt. The same persons were very rarely elected for more than one year to the same office, the Churchwardens even not forming an exception to the general rule.

As regards their duties, the Churchwardens, although confining themselves mostly to the care of the church and graveyard, occasionally gave relief to certain poor "passengers"¹ and "travellers."² The Overseers had the charge of the poor, although they gave very little to them, except in the case of pauper children, who were boarded out and otherwise provided for at the expense of the rates.

The duties of the Constables and Headborough were to keep the peace; there is no record of their receiving any wages, their expenses only being allowed them.

The Surveyors of Highways had, of course, to look after the roads. How they were paid, if at all, does not appear; their expenses (and perhaps salaries or fees) were probably paid out of funds specially provided, which did not come into the Vestry accounts.

It is somewhat curious that there is no mention of a Parish Clerk; the Minutes of the Vestry appear to have been entered by the Rector or his curate.

The necessary funds for the maintenance of the church and the services were raised by a Church Rate, which, at the time of which we are now speaking, amounted to 2*d.* in the pound.

The Overseers' funds were provided by a Poor Rate. The amount of the rate is not mentioned, but the total sum required for both the poor and the church was inconsiderable, and

¹ Poor "passengers" were labouring men, mostly of the agricultural class, travelling in search of work, who were provided with passes, which not only permitted them to seek employment outside their parish, a thing otherwise forbidden, but entitled them to help from the overseers of the parishes through which they might pass.

² "Travellers" were unlicensed wayfarers or tramps, as we should call them, who lived upon charity, and in many cases by robbery. They existed in great numbers, and were the descendants of the "sturdy rogues and vagabonds" of Henry VIII's time, of whom that high-handed gentleman is stated to have hanged 60,000 in the latter years of his reign.

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amounted in 1673 to £25 15s., equal in present money to about £100.

Over these funds the Vestry kept a tight hand. There is an amusing illustration of this in an entry made in 1670, which runs as follows: "Given to Passengers at several times, wherein the Parish thought him too liberal, five shillings"; which 5s. remained unpaid on the Churchwarden's accounts, the rest being discharged. This seems rather hard on the Churchwarden.

The total amount expended did not exceed 36s. a year, on an average of thirteen years, which included the small payments made to the poor passengers and travellers and other expenses. There is no mention of a choir, which probably did not exist, nor of a Parish Clerk; the latter, if there was one in Long Ditton, was always paid by fees.

No mention is made of an offertory, of the kind we are accustomed to, excepting the alms of the communicants, which were expended in the purchase of the bread and wine used at the Holy Communion. In those days it was customary only to hold the Celebrations four times a year, on the occasions of the chief festivals.

For raising money for special purposes, the Bishop of the Diocese issued a "brief extraordinary," under the warrant of the Great Seal, a custom which originated in pre-Reformation times. One such brief was in aid of a fund for rebuilding St. Paul's Cathedral after the Great Fire. The collection was made in Long Ditton in 1678. Again, in 1681 the Bishop ordered a collection for the Abbey Church of St. Albans, Herts. The most curious instance of a brief extraordinary was for the purpose of raising money for the redemption of captives taken by the Turks. There were collections for this object in 1670 and 1680.¹

Collections were also made from time to time for more local objects, such as the relief of a certain Nicholas Butler of East Molesey, who was burnt out in 1677, and in the same year for James Dawburn, "a sick man." The former amounted to £2 11s. 4d. and the latter to 13s. For an important object as much as from £4 to £5 was raised. In every case the names of the subscribers are given, with the amount of their contribution. Sir Edward Evelyn generally headed the list with the sum of £1. Then followed his wife, with a contribution of

¹ Briefs were abolished in 1828.

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5s., and about half a dozen of his servants with 6*d.* apiece, equal to about half-a-crown of our money. The economic three-penny-bit was not then known.

The original church, mentioned in Domesday Book, was probably erected in Saxon times, part of the foundations being still visible; but the oldest building of which we have any real knowledge, although there may have been several between the Saxon church and the one I am now alluding to, was pulled down in the year 1776, and replaced by a brick structure. It is thus described by Mr. Champion Streatfield, a grandson of Mr. Streatfield (who was a former Curate), in a memorandum he gave to Mr. Hughes, the late Rector's father:

It is in the form of a cross, the length from east to west 63 feet, that of the transept 46 feet. The intersection of the vaulting is crowned with a dome. Over the western door is a gallery, and at the eastern end two Corinthian pillars. The font and Communion Table were the gift of the Rector, the Rev. Mr. Pennicott. The representatives of the Evelyn family not choosing to incur the expense of their repair, the ancient monuments were disposed of in the pavements of the church, and are now all covered by the pews, except the two brasses.¹ There are four bells, but not one of them is hung. The building (owing to the lack of funds) was never completed, and is at present disfigured by a temporary roof.

I remember the church well, having attended Divine Service there shortly before its demolition. It was a somewhat gloomy structure, very massive, and being surrounded by trees had a rather picturesque appearance.

The following are the principal monuments remaining in the ruins of the old church.

On the north wall of the chancel, a marble tablet to the Rev. Bryan Broughton, a former Rector, who died in 1838. Another to his son Charles. One to Mrs. Elizabeth Harrison, 1806, and one to Mrs. Maria Coaps, 1853. There is one other of stone, carved in the form of a scroll, with a name on it that looks like John Lind, Barrister, but the inscription is not decipherable.

On the floor of the chancel are the tombstones of Sir Thomas Evelyn, who died in 1659; his son, Sir Edward Evelyn, who died in 1692, and of their widows. There is also a mutilated stone over the grave of Anthony Bulam, who

¹ Now in the new church.

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married the daughter of Sir Edward Evelyn, and died in 1695, but as the inscription is imperfect, nothing can be learned about him. It is a curious fact that the arms on the tomb, or as much as can be seen of them, are the same as the arms of the Evelyn family.

Some years ago the late Mr. Evelyn of Wootton applied for a faculty for the removal of the remains of his ancestors to Wootton, but it was refused.

Other ancient tombstones are to Maria Glynn, who was a daughter of Sir Edward Evelyn, and died in 1692; Captain Richard Blake, 1671; Anthony Dowdeswell, 1710; James Clarke, 1726; John Ferris, 1728; two to two Napiers, 1742 and 1751; and Colonel Wm. Oglethorpe, 1706. This last states that he served three Kings, besides her present Majesty (Anne). The three Kings would of course be Charles II, James II, and William III.

There was great difficulty in raising the money for building the old church, the previous one being condemned by the Vestry in 1776. The contract price was £1,600, but that was for the shell only, and did not include the pewing and other matters, not to speak of the tower which was never completed. The total amount spent on the church was £2,936, which was met by subscriptions amounting to £470, a donation of £21 from New College, Oxford, the proceeds of a brief, which yielded £444 19s. 9d., and a loan of £800 at 8 per cent., which was ultimately supplemented by a further borrowing of £1,200.

The following is a copy of an inventory made in 1680 of the property of the church:

Two flaggons of pewter; 1 chalice of silver with cover; two pattens of pewter; a pair of surplices; a table cloath of Holland; a large coffin, the gift of the Rector; a large carpet of green cloath for the Communion Table, the gift of Mrs. Sarah Pocock, the wife of the Rector; a faire green velvet cushion for the pulpit; a faire piece of plate to put the Communion bread on, in the fashion of a patten or passifer, also the gift of Mrs. Pocock.

In 1715 an anonymous donor presented the parish with a large silver flagon, which is still in use. This was in the time of Dr. Clark, who succeeded Mr. Pocock as Rector.

The present edifice was built in 1880, from the designs of the late Mr. Street, the architect of the Law Courts. It is a vast improvement upon its predecessor, and is a very pleasing

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and commodious structure. The total cost with the land was about £6,000, towards which the Church Building Society contributed £200 in 1878, upon condition that all the seats were free. It has accommodation for 438 persons. The chancel was built at the cost of the late Mr. Bates.

The lych-gate was erected in 1901 to the memory of Mrs. and Mr. Trollope, of the Manor House. The church is adorned by many beautiful stained glass windows in the north and south transepts. The windows recently placed in the chancel are by Kemp, and are admirable specimens of his art. The ornamental ironwork dividing the nave from the sanctuary was erected to the memory of the Rev. Mr. Lloyd, a former curate. The most recent addition to the church is the decoration of the walls of the chancel; the work was designed and executed by Messrs. Clayton and Bell at the expense of Mr. and Mrs. Pryce Mitchell in memory of her mother, Mrs. Godfrey of Rythe House.

The main principles of the modern Poor Laws date back to the reign of Queen Elizabeth, when a statute (43 Eliz., cap. 2) practically conferred the right of every destitute person in England to be supported by the parish in which he was born, or had been settled for three years, and directed the appointment of Overseers of the Poor in every parish, who were to administer special funds raised locally. The Overseers consisted of the churchwardens and from two to four substantial householders, nominated by the justices at their discretion; there was no central authority to control their actions, and no Government audit of their accounts. In Long Ditton it was the custom to submit the accounts annually to the Vestry, who allowed or disallowed the various items, as they saw fit, and sometimes dealt with them in a very arbitrary fashion.

It is impossible in the space at our disposal to do more than mention the principal charges. The largest expenditure was for boarding out poor children, presumably orphans. The customary allowance was 2s. a week for keeping a pauper child, in addition to which there was the cost of clothing. A shift cost 3s. 6d., a shirt 3s., a pair of shoes 2s. 6d. Children were also apprenticed at the charge of the parish, but no mention is made of their education. In rare instances weekly allowances were made to poor widows; small payments to "poor passengers and travellers" occur constantly.

It cannot be said that the treatment of the poor was such as to offer special inducement to them to put themselves to

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much trouble in order to obtain the relief granted, as the following entry shows: "Goody Snooks only to receive 1s. per week and half her rent, or 1s. 6d., she paying the whole rent." One can imagine the poor old soul, after much cogitation and thumbing of a ready reckoner (if such a thing existed in those days) painfully arriving at the conclusion that her best plan was to accept the former terms, the total value of the benefaction amounting to £4 2s. yearly, as against £3 8s. by the latter terms, the amount of her rent being 30s.

It was a common practice at that time, there being no workhouse, to make allowances towards rent, or else to lodge the poor in cottages hired for their reception, as the following entry testifies: "It was reported that the house at Tolworth belonging to Thomas Scowan Esq. in which three poor men resided, was very much out of repair, but that it might be fully repaired and rendered fit to receive all such poor as were in real want of houses, for £20." The rent of the house in question was £1 a year. The treatment of poor children was upon the same economical scale, the amount paid for one year for the board of five being only £15 12s., or at the rate of £3 2s. 5d. per child. There were no casual wards in those days, and Long Ditton did not possess a workhouse until later on.¹

In addition to the poor rate, a source of income was Smith's Charity. Henry Smith, Silversmith and Alderman of London, was born in Wandsworth in 1548. He amassed a vast fortune and gave large sums of money to many of the chief towns of Surrey during his lifetime, and at his death left the income of certain property to be divided amongst the principal villages. The share which fell to Long Ditton amounted, in the time of the Stuarts, to about £4 a year. The present income is about £33 a year. The money was left for the "relief of aged poor and infirm people, married persons having more children than their labours can maintain, poor orphans, and such poor people as keep themselves and families to labour, and to put forth their children as apprentices at the age of 15." That portion assigned for the relief of the impotent and aged poor was to be distributed in apparel of one colour, branded with the name of the donor, or else in bread, flesh, or fish upon each Sabbath day in the parish church. From time to time modifications in the form of distribution have been made, with the sanction of the

¹ Union workhouses were established by the Poor Law Amendment Act in 1834.

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Charity Commissioners, and the method now adopted in Long Ditton is to confine the charity to widows and persons of sixty years of age and upwards, who shall have resided in the parish for five years at least, to whom is given clothing, materials for clothing, or blankets, as they may elect. Any balance is divided between Long Ditton and Tolworth Schools, for the purpose of providing prizes for the scholars. This is the only endowed charity which benefits Long Ditton.

In Queen Anne's days Tolworth was the most populous part of the parish, if we may judge from the assessments, the Poor Rate in 1703 amounting to £23 4s. 3d. in Tolworth and to £22 8s. 9d. in Long Ditton.

From 1708 to 1712 no accounts were rendered by the Churchwardens or Overseers, but on the 16th April of the latter year: "The officers and several of the Parishioners met at the Church, when all and each of them were paid their claims and debts, neglected to be done for several years."

Detailed accounts appear in the Minutes of the Vestry at sundry times, but from 1755 onwards they are mere summaries, and fail therefore to supply any particulars of how the money was spent. The names of the elected officers, however, continue to be recorded year by year.

In 1729 the Overseers, Headboroughs, and Constables ceased to be elected by the Vestry, which thereafter nominated them to the County Magistrates, in whom the actual appointment became vested. The right of choosing their own Surveyor of Highways, formerly exercised by the parish, was taken away from them several years before then, but at what precise date, and under what circumstances it is difficult to determine. The first Parish Clerk that we read of (one William Steele) was appointed in 1748. His salary was £2 a year. The following entry shows the rigid economy practised by the Vestry in those days: "An agreement of the Vestry 1722. Whereas Robert Collins, Churchwarden, had given to vagabonds and other passengers, more than was thought reasonable at the Parish expense, it is agreed that no other officer but the churchwarden shall relieve any such person at the Parish expense, and that neither of the Churchwardens for the time to come shall dispose of more than 6s. apiece a year on such account." In the following year the allowance of beer to the men working on the roads was stopped; twenty years later, however, the men were allowed one pint of beer each.

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In 1745 an attempt was made by the Overseers to confine the payment of poor relief to church-goers.

It being represented by the Rev. Mr. Pennicott that several poor people of this parish were becoming shamefully remiss in their attendance on the public worship, it was resolved that the several allowances now paid or at any future time granted to the poor, shall be paid at no other time or place but in the Parish Church, on every Sunday immediately after morning service, and to such only of the said poor who shall attend the said service, unless in extraordinary cases of disability.

One way of securing an outward observance of the forms of religion, leaving the spirit untouched. With this characteristic specimen of the religious intolerance of the time these notes must come to an end.

THE HIPPODROME, NOTTING HILL: A Forgotten London Race-course.

BY T. BUTLER CATO, F.S.A.

“**H**AVE you been to the Hippodrome?’ said a man who rode up as I was crossing from Grosvenor Place into the Park. I had never heard of such a place. ‘Indeed! Well, it is an excellent hour’s lounge—let us ride there together!’”

Such was a scrap of the conversation which took place in the year 1837 between two sporting gentlemen of the period; and maybe at the present time there are many who have never heard of a place which for the short space of four years was the resort of fashionable and sporting London.

The two friends having decided to visit the course set out on horseback, and, making the “*cours aristocratique* of Routine Row,” passed out at Cumberland Gate, and thence to Bayswater.

A ride of a mile or thereabouts brought them to Kensington Gravel Pits—the first hamlet west of Tyburn on the Oxford Road, and which was picturesque enough to be painted by Mulready—and a little further on they paid their tolls at and



THE HIPPODROME, NOTTING HILL.

passed through Notting Hill Gate. A few hundred yards further they arrived at the Terrace of Notting Hill, close to which was the entrance to the Hippodrome, and within the enclosure there appeared "the most perfect race course you ever beheld." We must leave our two friends, lost in admiration of the view of the course, in order to trace very briefly the history of this short-lived but interesting sporting venture.

Early in the year 1837, or possibly in the previous year, it occurred to a Mr. John Whyte that the valley below Notting Hill would be a most suitable spot for a race-course. Negotiations were accordingly entered into by this gentleman with the ground landlord, Mr. Ladbroke, and a course of two and a quarter miles was forthwith laid out. The course was of a somewhat oval shape, as can be seen in the plan, the turns were easy, the ground uniformly even and of considerable width. The steeple-chase course was on the outside of the race-course, in a circle about two miles round, intersected by natural fences and brooks. Both courses were railed in all round with strong railings, so that the horses in running could not be crossed or their riders molested or endangered by the company attending the races.

From the accompanying plan the direction of the course can be seen. Starting in what is now Portland Road, it went in a straight line for about 600 yards, then branched off in a north-west direction, forming a large loop, returning to the starting-point. The "Hill for Pedestrians" is the Notting Hill, on which stood the grand stand, which is shown in the illustration, and on which the church of St. John was afterwards built; it was known as "The Hippodrome Church" for some years. From this eminence it was said that a view was to be obtained as spacious and enchanting as that from Richmond Hill, almost the only thing you could not see was—London! Every yard of the course could be seen from the top of the hill, besides miles of country on every side beyond it, "a racing emporium more extensive and attractive than Ascot or Epsom, with ten times the accommodation of either, and where carriages are charged at three-fourths less."

Previous to the formation of the Hippodrome there had been steeplechases over "made" fences in different parts of the country, commencing with a meeting at Bedford in 1810; but these early meetings were in the nature of specially arranged matches between the sportsmen of the day, who each subscribed a certain sum, and it was not till the year 1830

THE HIPPODROME, NOTTING HILL.

that organized steeplechases intended to be renewed every year were inaugurated by the meeting at St. Albans. This was followed in 1837 by the first meeting at the Hippodrome, which was duly advertised in the newspapers as follows:

THE HIPPODROME SITUATED AT BAYSWATER. The Nobility, Gentry and the Public are respectfully informed that this establishment is in such a state of forwardness as to allow it to be now opened to subscribers. It is available for every kind of equestrian exercise and amusement. A very large space is railed in and allotted to persons on foot where they can enjoy the various amusements without danger of molestation. It is particularly adapted for Ladies, Invalids, and Children enjoying Horse Exercise. The first day's public racing is fixed for the 3rd June. Every information respecting Terms, Rules and Regulations may be had at the Hippodrome office from ten till five o'clock, where subscriptions will be received and receipts and tickets issued.

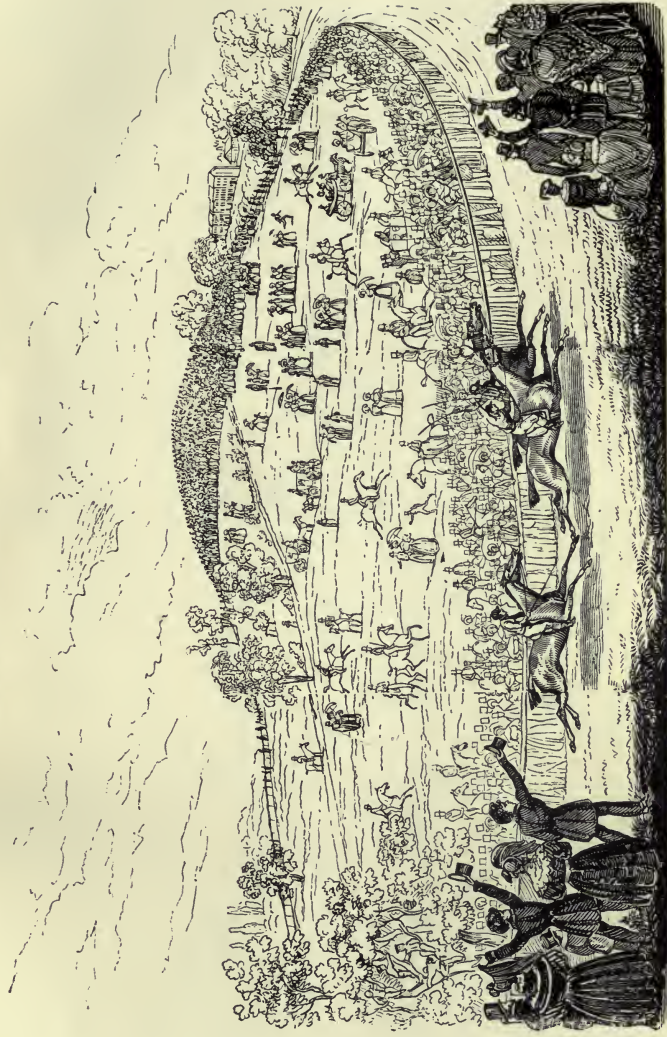
Subscribers on Horseback or Foot will on public days enter by the gates at Ladbroke Terrace—and all others on foot or Horseback and Carriages, etc. will enter at the Gates at Portobello Lane.

Hippodrome Office, 2 Opera Arcade, Pall Mall.

E. Mayne, Secretary.

On Saturday, June 3, 1837, the first meeting was duly held, and drew together a very brilliant company. "Splendid Equipages" occupied the space set apart for them, while gay marquises, "with all their flaunting accompaniments," covered the hill. The Meeting certainly started under promising auspices, for among the Stewards were those leaders of society and fashion, Lord Chesterfield and Count d'Orsay, "the Phoebus Apollo of Dandyism." The whole neighbourhood seemed to have turned out to see the sport, and the takings at the Toll Gate at Notting Hill must have been considerable. The racing was for plates of £100 and £50 given by the Proprietor, but although the meeting was doubtless a great social success, the racing hardly came up to expectations. The sporting press described it as "good," but, being in its infancy, "feeble." The fact, no doubt, was that the soil was of too clayey a nature for a really good race-course, however well suited it might be for horse exercise. The consequence was that the leading jockeys refused to ride there. But though the new race-course, so conveniently near London, was undoubtedly popular with the racing fraternity, the proprietor

THE HIPPODROME, *BAYSWATER.*



The Hippodrome, Notting Hill, about 1840.

From an old print.





The last Grand Steeplechase at The Hippodrome, 1841.



THE HIPPODROME, NOTTING HILL.

met with a considerable amount of local opposition. The main cause of this opposition was due to the fact that there was a right of way which ran from Uxbridge Road across Notting Hill to Kensal Green. The race-course owners set up bars and gates, and endeavoured to block the footpath, which ran across the course. This not unnaturally led to disturbances, during which certain parishioners of Kensington, jealous of their right of way, went on to the course and with hatchets and saws tore down the obstructions. They were doubtless aided and abetted in their opposition to the race-course by a section of the press, which, referring to the meeting on May 25, 1838, stated that "the scum and offal of London was assembled in the peaceful hamlet of Notting Hill" on this occasion. Local feeling ran very high, and a petition against the continuance of the course was widely signed by the inhabitants of the neighbourhood.

Readers of Douglas Jerrold's *Brownrigg Papers* may remember the clever skit on this opposition—how it was said that the moral contamination of the race-course affected even the scholastic establishments for young ladies and gentlemen on the Bayswater Road—that a spirit of gambling amongst the young was engendered—and that the young gentlemen spent their leisure time in breeding caterpillars for racing, and arranging handicap races for snails of all weights—how, in fact, since the introduction of vicious racers near the school, not one of the children would receive even the most moderate physical remonstrance without considerable kicking, and how one urchin, more contaminated than the rest, emptied a pint of brandy in his schoolmistress's tea, which resulted in her being found senseless on the hearthrug, and on being remonstrated with replied that "he understood flats were to be served in that way at the Hippodrome."

This "foolish spirit of opposition to the race-course" was the beginning of the end of the undertaking. For two years the quarrel between the proprietor and the parochial authorities continued, till at last the former gave up the contest and enclosed other ground; the pathway in dispute thus remained for the public use. In 1839 the title was changed to "The Hippodrome Victoria Park," as a compliment to the young Sovereign, and the whole course was surrounded by high fences.

On May 25, 1839, the opening meeting of the year was held. Royalties were present in the persons of the heir to

THE HIPPODROME, NOTTING HILL.

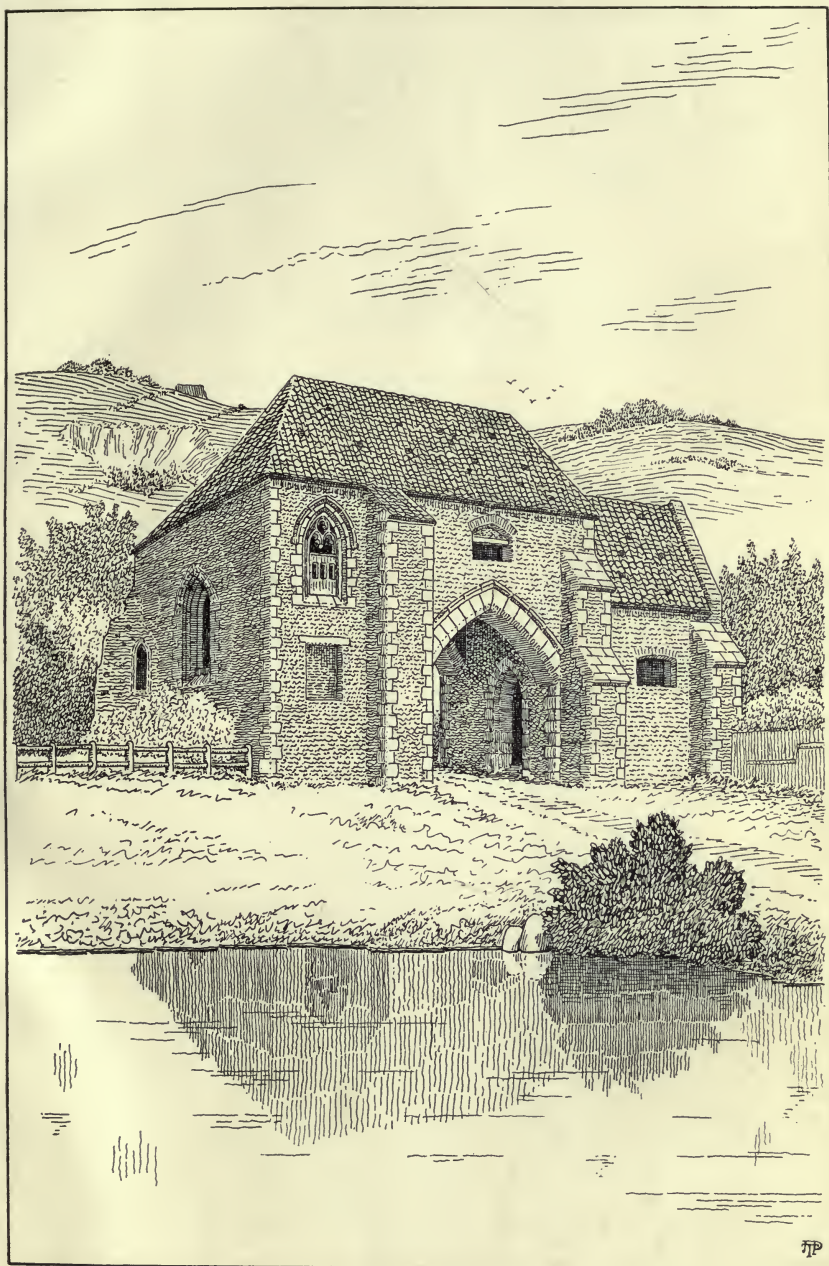
the Russian throne and Prince Frederick of the Netherlands (the former giving a cup as an additional prize), and amongst others attending were Prince Dolgourouki, Prince Bariatinski, Count Orloff, and other illustrious foreigners. They arrived on the course in royal carriages, and were joined by the Duke of Cambridge, the Marquises of Anglesea and Worcester, the Stewards, and Mr. Whyte, the proprietor. An immense number of people thronged the course, and the hill, from which a perfect view of the sport was obtained, was crowded with pedestrians. In every way this meeting seems to have been one of the most successful of the series.

The next year, 1840, saw a Captain Becher as manager of the ground, and a "Produce Stakes of 50 sovs., with 1,000 sovs. given by the proprietor," to be run triennially, was announced. This generosity was perhaps not unnaturally short-lived. In 1841 Mr. Whyte announced that he could not continue to give such heavy stakes and maintain the proper character of the ground, were he to continue his low price of admission. The charges were thereupon raised to 2s. 6d. for pedestrians, 5s. for equestrians, 7s. 6d. for two-wheeled and 10s. for four-wheeled carriages.

There were two meetings in 1841, with racing for the "Hyde Park Derby Stakes," the "Notting Hill Stakes," the "Kensington Free Plate," the "Notting Barnes Handicap," the "Hyde Park Oak Stakes," on the first occasion, and for the "Hammersmith Free Plate," the "Willesden Stakes," the "Hippodrome Paddock Stakes," the "London Handicap" (of "30 sovs. each, with a subscription from the City of London, guaranteed by the proprietor to be not less than 300 sovs.," added), and the "Westminster Handicap." Alas, after such high-sounding titles, that the end of this undertaking should be nearing!

The meeting of June 2, 1841, proved to be the last. The picture by Alken shows the race-course in that year, and to this day can be seen the last of the Pottery Kilns shown in this view. In May, 1842, the proprietor announced that the ground had been taken possession of by the mortgagees, for the purposes of building, and that it would be out of his power to run the races advertised.

So ended this "spirited undertaking," which only four years before had been described as "an enterprise which must prosper, it is without a competitor, and is open to the fertilisation of many sources of profit; in fact, it is a necessary of



The Gate-House, St. Martin's, Dover.

Drawn by J. Tavenor-Perry.



THE PRIORY OF SS. MARY AND MARTIN, DOVER.

London life, of whose absolute need no one was aware till the possession of it taught us its paramount value."

Part of the course, with a few hedges, was kept open for horse-exercise as late as 1852, and was well patronized. At the present day the existence of the old race-course is recalled by the "Hippodrome Place" in Notting Dale.

THE PRIORY OF SS. MARY AND MARTIN DOVER. (Known as St. Martin New-Work.)

BY J. TAVENOR-PERRY.

[Continued from vol. 13, p. 254.]

THE works had been stopped, or at least hindered, in their progress while the more serious disagreements were pending, but these being settled, and Archbishop Theobald having interested himself in the matter, the work was pushed on, so that by the time of his death in 1161 the more important parts of the church and some other of the necessary conventual buildings were completed. Although in later years additional works were carried out from time to time as circumstances required, and great structural repairs were necessitated by the French raids, the Priory as completed by Theobald was never much altered; and it was no doubt in a fit state to house, in due magnificence, Louis of France and Henry II when they passed through Dover to the shrine of St. Thomas of Canterbury in 1179.

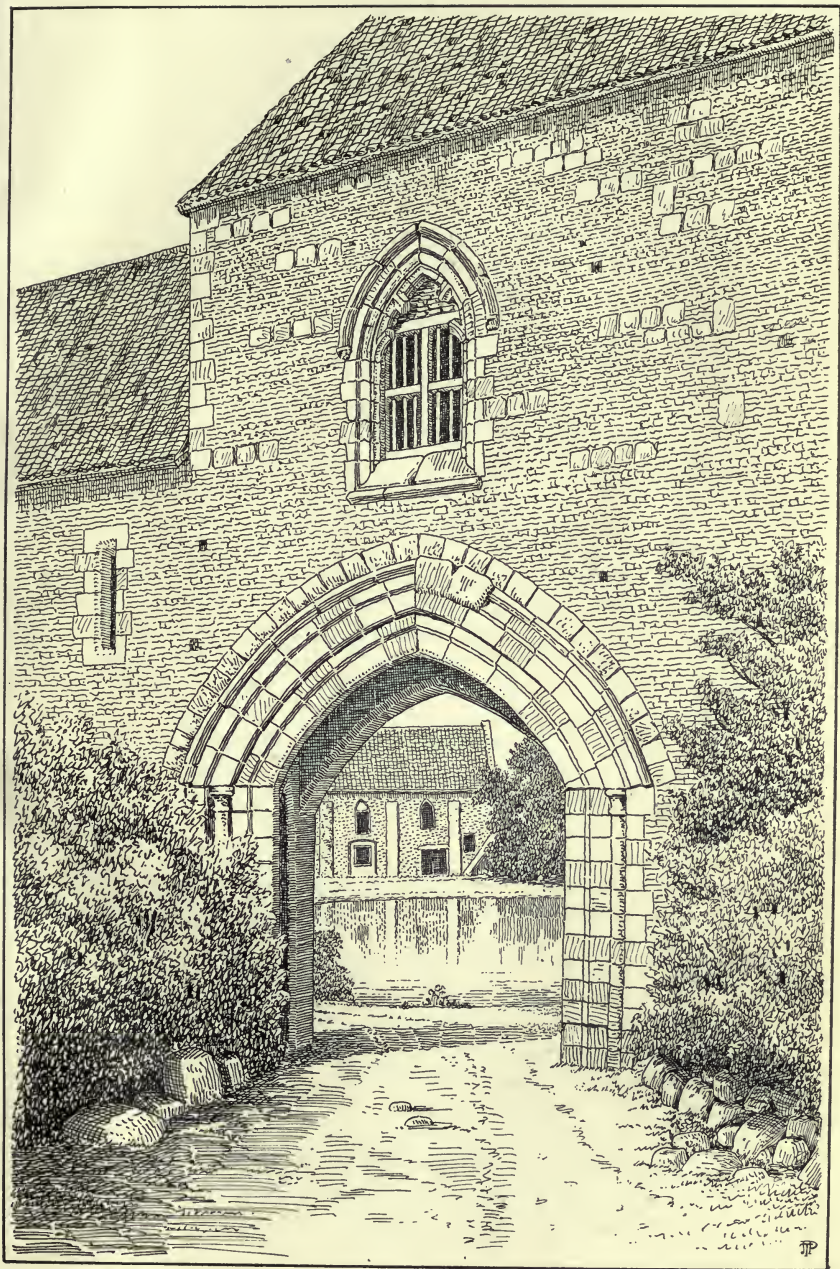
One very important historical event which occurred in Dover in 1191 has been generally associated with the Priory, and therefore requires to be mentioned here, although, having regard to all the circumstances, it is somewhat difficult to understand how it can have been the scene of the occurrence. Of the chroniclers who are chiefly responsible for the details of the story, Ralph de Diceto, John Bromton, Roger of Howden, and Gervase of Canterbury, the last is the only one likely to have had a personal acquaintance with the place; and even he may unintentionally have confused the two establishments, the Collegiate Church of St. Martin-le-Grand and the Priory of St. Martin, at that time generally distinguished as the "New-Work."

The story runs thus: Geoffrey Plantagenet, the youngest

THE PRIORY OF SS. MARY AND MARTIN, DOVER.

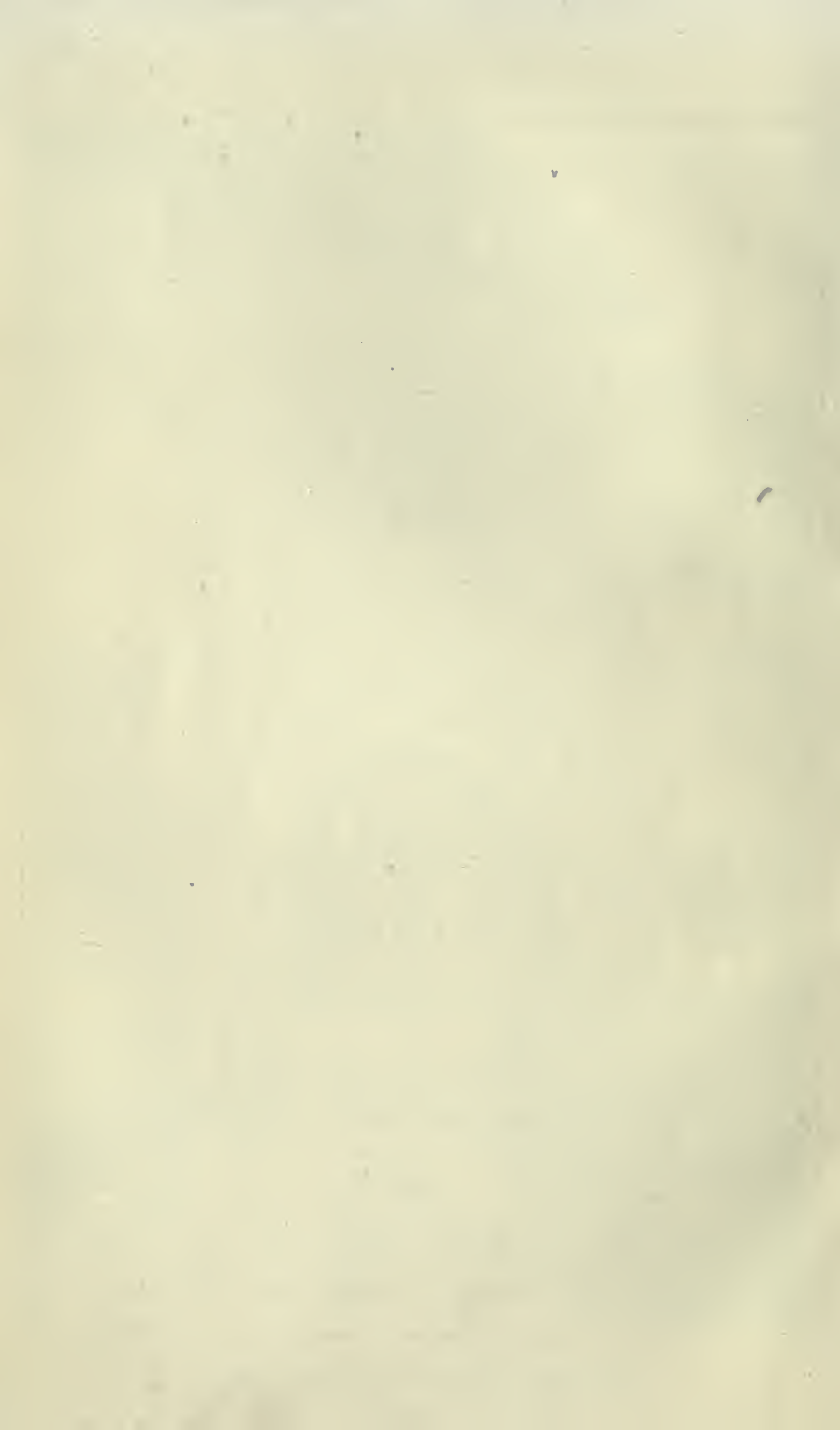
son of Henry II, had been appointed to the Archbishopric of York in his father's lifetime, but had been unable to obtain the necessary Papal recognition. After Henry's death, the new Pope, Celestine III, acknowledged him, and sent him with a mandate to the Archbishop of Tours to consecrate him as Archbishop. Having received consecration in the Abbey of St. Martin of Tours, Geoffrey at once made for England. William Longchamp, Bishop of Ely, who was holding the kingdom for Richard I, then at the Crusade, sent instructions to the Constable of Dover Castle, James, Lord Fienes, to look out for the Archbishop, and to arrest him if he landed. Geoffrey, having disguised himself, eluded the guards and landed, and, mounting a horse, rode to St. Martin's; after having donned his ecclesiastical vestments, he proceeded to take his part in the celebration of the Mass, when the soldiers burst in and, all arrayed in his archiepiscopal robes as he was, dragged him through the dirty streets of Dover, and committed him to ward within the Castle.

Such is the story, and it may seem to hang well enough together to those who have not been over the ground, but to those who know their Dover it is somewhat difficult to credit. To follow it in detail it is necessary to remember that Dover, at the end of the twelfth century, was a closely walled town of (roughly speaking) quadrilateral form, with its north-west angle rounded off where it impinged on the western heights. Its south side was towards the sea, the west lay close under the overhanging cliffs, the north side was towards the open country, while the east side faced the Castle, from which it was divided by very swampy ground through which ran the little river Dour and some other brooks. This open ground was, however, defended by a curtain-wall towards the sea, stretching along from the Postern Tower, commonly called the Fishermen's Gate, at the south-east angle of the town, till it joined the foot of the cliff of the Castle Hill by the ancient church of St. James Wardendown. In the town wall towards the sea there were four gates, the Postern, already mentioned, and the Snar-gate at the other end of the sea front, and between these two others of less importance, known as Butchery and Severus Gates; in the curtain-wall were two gates, St. Helen's and Eastbrook Gates, through which one of the little streams of the marshy ground ran into the sea. The boggy character of the ground hereabouts in olden time was shown by the discovery a few years since of about 100 feet



The Gate-House, St. Martin's, Dover.

Drawn by J. Tavenor-Perry.



THE PRIORY OF SS. MARY AND MARTIN, DOVER.

of an oak-framed roadway, apparently of Roman construction, which had been made to form a "hard" from a landing-place towards the Castle.

When, therefore, Geoffrey landed, eluding by his disguise the vigilance of the guard sent by Lord Fienes to arrest him, it must have been in one of three places, either on the open sea front westward of the town, at one of the town gates, or one of the two gates in the curtain-wall nearest the Castle. Had he selected the open sea front he could not have reached St. Martin New-Work without scaling the western heights—for the railway tunnel through them was not even yet a dream—or without riding into the town at Snar-gate, traversing its entire length, and riding out again on the other side. Had he entered through the curtain-wall, he would have had to get across the marshy land, intersected by brooks, and where there was no road, between the Castle and the town; while in the third case, he would have had to ride through the town and out through the carefully guarded gate across the London Road. But this is to suppose that an unknown stranger, for such the disguised Archbishop must have been, could dash through an important fortified city, as one might dash through an open village nowadays in a motor-car, unchallenged and unarrested; and the supposition seems somewhat gratuitous when one remembers that to do this he had to pass the gates of three churches within the town, one of which, and the first he came to, was the royal chapel of St. Martin-le-Grand, whose special sanctuarial privileges were undoubted, and whose great tower and lofty apse he could not fail to see.

It may be further urged that one of the Archbishop's complaints later on against the Constable was, that he was dragged in his archiepiscopal vestments through the dirty streets of Dover; but had he been captured in the New-Work there was no need to take him into Dover at all, and thus risk either a rescue or his seeking refuge in one or other of the town sanctuaries; and moreover there was no gate in the town wall on the Castle side which would have made that a short cut. It is to be remembered further that though the place of his sanctuary is expressly stated to be the Priory of St. Martin, the Royal Chapel of St. Martin-le-Grand at this time belonged to the Priory, and so loose is the description in the Chronicles that Thiery, in his *Conquest of England by the Normans*, with Roger of Howden evidently before him,

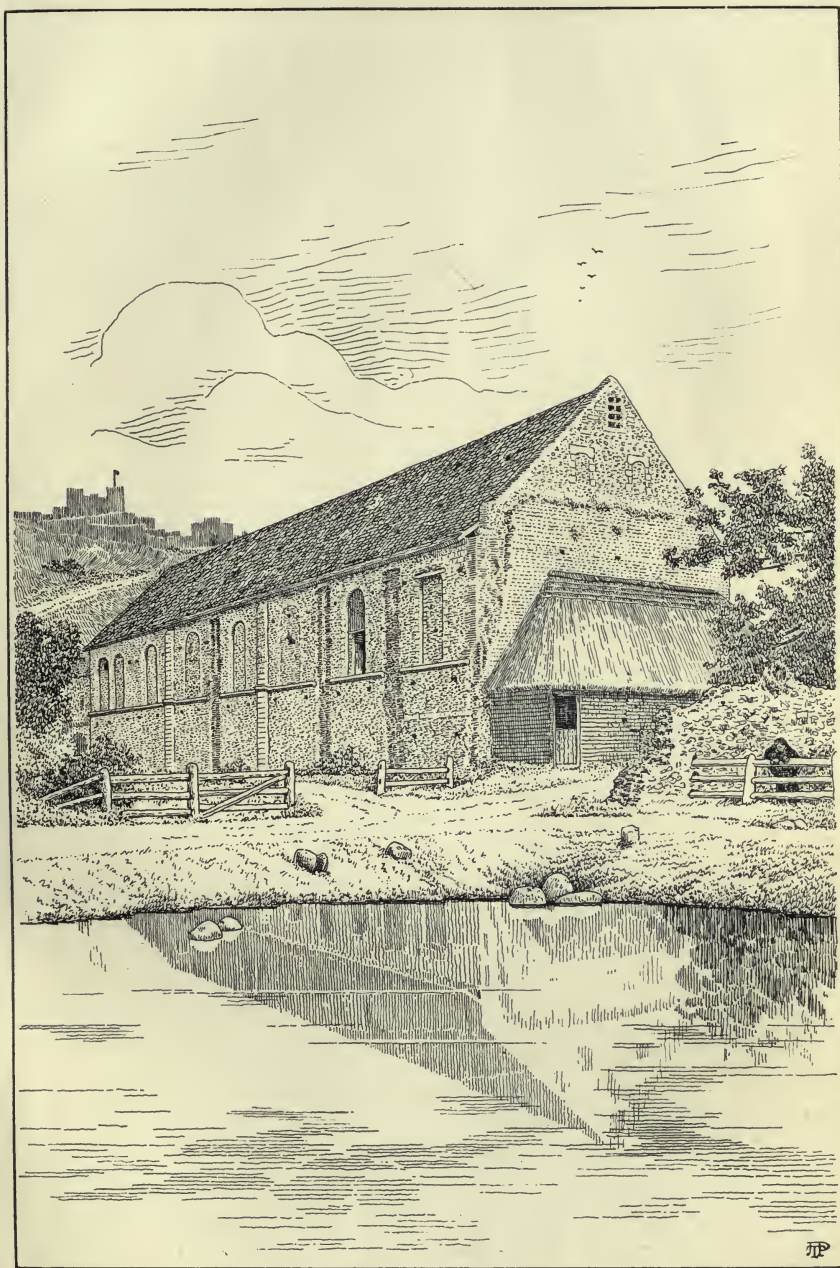
THE PRIORY OF SS. MARY AND MARTIN, DOVER.

says that Geoffrey reached a monastery of the City of Canterbury, where the monks hid him in their house.

However much open to question this episode of Archbishop Geoffrey's sanctuary-seeking in St. Martin's Priory may be, the unwelcome visits of the French in the next century are undeniable, and they left behind them but too evident traces, which may be seen to this day, of their hostile intrusion. These visits commenced in 1213 and lasted three or four years, during which time the army of Philip under the Dauphin, with William Longsword and forty-nine other English barons, unsuccessfully besieged Dover Castle, held for his country by Hubert de Burgh. For this Hubert gained but few thanks from his King, and through the unrelenting malice of Peter de Rupibus, Bishop of Winchester and Treasurer of St. Hilary of Poitiers, he also was driven to seek sanctuary under the outspread cloak of St. Martin. During 1296 the French again landed twice at Dover, raiding the town and the religious houses, doing much superficial damage and carrying off a good deal of plunder. It was, however, during the first of their visits that the principal damage was done to the Priory; the gateway was to a great extent thrown down, and the Refectory and adjoining buildings were burnt, so that much of the stonework had to be renewed at a later date, and some of the calcined ashlar which was then left untouched had to be removed in the restoration during the last century. How far the church suffered we cannot say, as it, with all its reparations, has long since disappeared.

From the time of the French inroads until the time when the last Henry evicted them, much as the first Henry had evicted their predecessors in title, the monks of St. Martin's Priory passed, in two hundred and fifty years of external peace, their uneventful history; and with but slight additions or reparations occupied the buildings as they were left by the original founders; and these we will now proceed to describe.

By reference to our plan of the Priory (vol. 13, p. 246), it will be seen that the church has essentially in all its chief characteristics the Austin Canon and not the Benedictine arrangement; the nave is wide and spacious, suitable for the large congregations who were expected to listen to the Augustinians. Its dimensions, from the west front to the crossing of the transepts, and from the south to the north walls inclusive of the aisles, were about 145 by 65 feet, or nearly 9,500 square feet for the nave alone, and it was formed into nine bays. The piers of



The Refectory, St. Martin's, Dover.

Drawn by J. Tavenor-Perry.



THE PRIORY OF SS. MARY AND MARTIN, DOVER.

the nave arcades were square, with nook-shafts of Bethesden marble, some of which have been found amongst the ruins; and as these piers were comparatively slight, being only five feet square, and as there were no buttresses capable of withstanding any thrust, the roofs must have been of wood. The west front was not prepared for towers, as it would have been with a Benedictine church, and the piers at the crossing, which had a clear internal space of 30 feet, were not sufficiently strong to carry any lofty tower at that point. The transepts were aisleless; and stretched 160 feet from north to south, and each had on its eastern side two semicircular apsidal chapels, 12 feet wide and deep. The square-ended choir and sacarium had together a length from the crossing of 95 feet, and the same width as the nave; the nave aisles were continued for three bays along the sides of the choir, with circular piers to the arcade, and apsidal terminations. Traces of a single doorway in three orders were found at the west end, and another in the third bay of the south aisle which no doubt was the entrance used by the townspeople, and its door may have borne the usual sanctuary ring to mark the church as the successor to or the sharer in the benefits and protection of St. Martin's cloak.

Of the aspect of the church in its primitive beauty, internal or external, it is difficult now to form a conception, since, although enough remained in the last century to make it possible to take an accurate plan, scarcely one stone remained above another; and now, all that was left then has either been destroyed or buried under the modern houses. For its size it might have been comparable with Rochester, Southwell, or Tewkesbury, and as far as we can judge from existing remains must have equalled them in architectural decoration.

The conventual buildings at Dover were placed on the north side, which, though not the customary position, was by no means rare, and was, by peculiarities of the site, sometimes made necessary. In this particular case the church, having been designed with special reference to popular preaching, it was set on the townward side of the site, and the buildings for the canons' use on the further side; in this the example of Canterbury was followed, where the church was placed nearest to the city and the conventual buildings between it and the city wall. Thus we get here the Chapter House at the end of the north transept, without any intervening slype, and of the same form as, though rather smaller than, the beautiful con-

THE PRIORY OF SS. MARY AND MARTIN, DOVER.

temporary one, built by Galfrid Rufus at Durham, which the Dean, Lord Cornwallis, having found it chilly, ordered to be pulled down in 1795. Beyond the Chapter House, and stretching still northward, was a range of buildings, measuring over all 40 feet in width by 145 feet in length. This is generally assumed to have been used by the monks as their dormitory, with perhaps an undercroft for various domestic offices; but it had no access to the church, such as was usually provided for the convenience of attending early services, unless the roof of the Chapter House was made so low that a gallery to the transept passed over it.

To the north of the nave and to the west of the last-mentioned buildings was the cloister, the outlines of which are still apparent, and which measured about 110 feet square, including the walks. How far the building of the original cloister had been carried before the French attacks we do not know, but in the considerable ruins of the west walk, till recently remaining, were found fragments of thirteenth century vaulting ribs, which may have formed portions of the groining on that side. Towards the end of the fifteenth century it had evidently become dilapidated, for in 1484 the will of a Robert Lucas was proved, by which the sum of 13s. 4d. was left for the making of a new cloister. Whether the whole or any part of this bequest was expended is unknown; no remains of work of so late a date have been found among the debris, but the gift seems to show that some rebuilding was necessary and contemplated.

On the north side of the cloister stands the refectory, the most interesting and the best preserved of the Priory buildings, measuring 102 feet in length, 27 feet in width, with a height to the top of the walls and springing of the roof of 30 feet. Round the upper part runs a graceful arcade of semicircular arches, carried on pilaster piers with nook shafts, and this arcade is irregularly pierced with simple round-arched windows, two being arranged together at the dais end, those on the south side having their sills raised to a higher level so as to clear the cloister roof. The original capitals showed Norman scallops, but a large number of these with their *abaci* were destroyed by the French, and others of later design were inserted in their places. Very little of the ancient roof remained, and it was found necessary at the recent restoration to put an entirely new roof to the building. Having regard to the fact that for more than two hundred years the refectory



The Refectory, looking East, St. Martin's, Dover.

Drawn by J. Tavenor-Perry.



THE PRIORY OF SS. MARY AND MARTIN, DOVER.

had been used as a barn, it is wonderful that on the east wall below the arcading there still remain considerable traces of a large painting of the Last Supper, stretching right across the full width of the dais. The figures are life size, and the *nimbi* have been moulded or stamped into the plaster background. At some time subsequent to the first painting it has been considerably "restored," and the position of St. John's head slightly altered, and as the stopping of the old nimbus has now fallen out, the Apostle presents the somewhat ludicrous appearance of bearing two nimbed heads. Though not so beautiful or so well preserved as Da Vinci's painting of the subject in the refectory of the Grazie at Milan, it is equally interesting and almost unique in England. Towards the east end of the south wall, at the end of the dais, was an aumbry, which appears to have been empty when the inventory of utensils and furniture found in the refectory at the Dissolution was taken, an inventory which does not suggest that the monks kept a luxuriously appointed table. This is a copy of it:

In the Vawte where the moncks do dyne, j olde table,
j fourme, j cusshon of verder, j booke of the Bybyll, written.
In the Buttrye, next to the same Vawte where the moncks do
use to dine, j salte of sylver parcell gylte, with a cover to the
same, vj old playne towells, iij napkyns playne, j bason and
j ewar of pewtar, iij bell candill-sticks, j smalle lampe,
v chaffyn dishes of latten.

The entrance to the refectory was from the cloister at the west end, but the stone dressings, except those showing the outline of the arch, had all been removed; and though by some the sculptured vouissoir of a lintel arch found in the cloisters has been assumed to belong to this door, its place was more probably in the west door of the church. To the east of this doorway is an arcade of three pointed arches, showing beautiful mouldings, inserted in the wall perhaps in the fourteenth century, which was most likely the lavatory.

In houses of Austin Canons the Prior's lodging was generally placed at the south-west angle of the nave, but there are no indications at Dover of there ever having been any buildings in this position. When William de Longville and the other Canons from Merton came hastily to seize the New-Work for their order it was in a very unfinished condition, and they were most likely expelled before proper accommodation had been found for them. The position,

THE PRIORY OF SS. MARY AND MARTIN, DOVER.

moreover, having regard to that of the town, would have been very inconvenient, and the chances are that the Benedictines erected this important building nearer the main Canterbury road and the Maison Dieu, and that all traces of it have been lost.

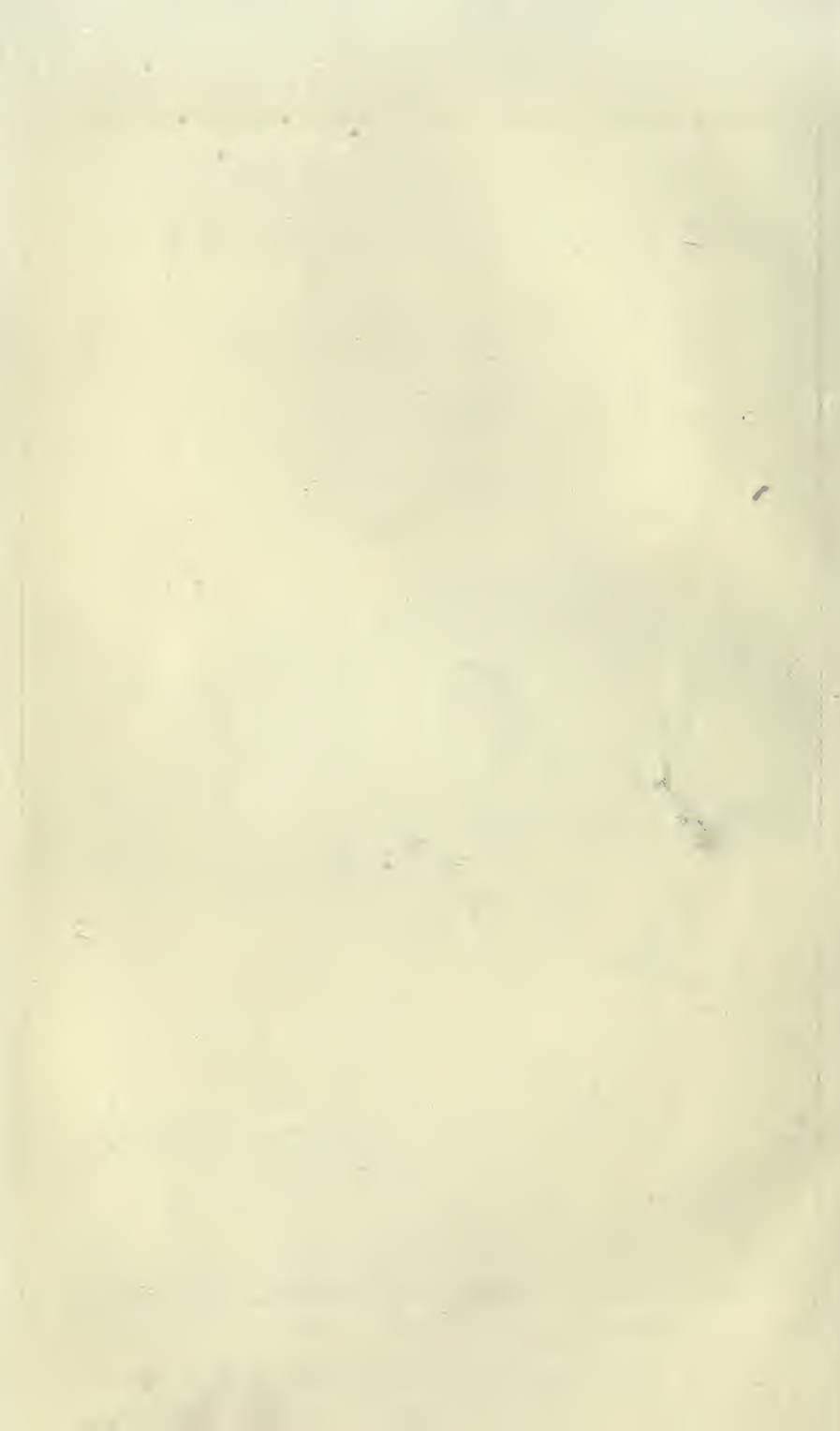
Farther along westward of the church, and facing towards the Folkestone road, stands the Priory Gateway, which appears to have suffered more from the French devastations than any other part of the Convent. At the time of the attack it could have been but barely completed, and a considerable part of it seems to have been thrown down; but it was reconstructed at a subsequent date by using up, as far as they would serve, the undamaged ruins, with the result that in its details it shows many anomalies. The gateway entrance was originally groined, and fitted with a portcullis, which was omitted at the rebuilding. At the side of the gate was a small chamber reached by an external staircase, and lighted from the gateway by a small window; this formed a chapel, with a niche at the entrance for the holy-water stoup, and to the east a piscina and a recess for the altar. The only access to the upper floor must have been from adjoining buildings now destroyed; it contains some fireplaces, with wooden lintels of a very late date, and has a turret staircase in one angle intended to give access to the roof.

Still further to the west, at the angle of the Priory enclosure, stood a great stone-built barn, which appears in the foreground of a plate representing the ruins in Grose's *Antiquities of England*, from which it would seem to have been a fine example of thirteenth century work. To the north of the site, under the rise of the hill and at some distance away from the church, are extensive remains of buildings the exact purposes of which are unknown; and among them, in a fairly perfect condition, is one which was most likely intended to be the Guest House. It consists of a hall, 80 feet long, with a narrow aisle on the north side, which together are about 35 feet wide, with an arcade of six pointed arches on cylindrical shafts, having particularly graceful scallop-capitals of an unusual form, but to be found in the neighbouring church of St. Margaret-at-Cliffé. At the south end of the hall was a great fireplace, the chimney recess of which remains, and at the south-west angle was a turret. The windows are all of an early lancet form, but the doorways have been obliterated by the other openings which have been cut in modern times.



The Guest-House, St. Martin's, Dover.

Drawn by J. Tavenor-Perry.



THE FIRST HOME OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY.

There were a large number of walls and ruins mixed up with modern farm-buildings scattered about the site, the use of which could not be determined, many belonging to extensive works carried out in the fourteenth century, when we know that, among others, a bake-house and a brew-house were erected.

The seal of the Priory, as figured in Hasted, shows St. Martin dividing his cloak with the beggar of Amiens, according to the old legend. The arms of the Priory are given by Dugdale as: Sable, between 4 leopards' faces, or, a cross, argent, which Makensie Walcot says were the paternal arms of the Prior Robert.

The report of the King's Visitors at the time of the suppression was to the effect that the house was in a decaying condition, bad management and diminished revenues having brought it to the verge of bankruptcy. Apparently the Prior had been forced to borrow of the inhabitants and had mortgaged the goods of the convent for security ; and in one case at least, where he seems to have run a long bill with his butcher, one Thomas Mansell, he had to take the very coat off the back of the image of the Blessed St. Thomas, a coat garnished with divers brooches, rings, and other jewels, and give it in pledge for the payment of the account. The house was voluntarily surrendered by the Prior and Brethren on November 16, 1535 ; the buildings and revenues were granted to the See of Canterbury. The altars were not removed until 1549. The stalls were given to St. Mary-the-Virgin, Dover, and must have been destroyed when that church was restored early in the last century. The materials of the church were given to the town of Dover for the repair of the town walls and gates ; and so, piece by piece, one of the finest monastic churches in the country was utterly swept away.

THE FIRST HOME OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY.

BY WILLIAM FOSTER.

“ **A**T Mr. Thomas Smythe's house in Philpot Lane”—such was the first address of the Honourable Company of Merchants of London Trading into the East Indies ; and it says much for the thrifty ways of our ancestors that for

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upwards of twenty years (with one short break) this rich and powerful association should have been content with the use of a few rooms in the city mansion of its first Governor. How astonished would the earliest members have been had they been told that three centuries later the Company would be the owners of a magnificent building standing on a site of an acre and a half, employing hundreds of clerks and, in its numerous outlying warehouses, thousands of labourers! Still more would they have marvelled to learn that the association they had helped to found would one day oust the Great Mogul from his throne, and win for Britain an empire far more populous than that of the Romans at the zenith of their power.

Where, then, is Philpot Lane, the scene in which the first act of the drama is laid? It is easily found. Going from Gracechurch Street along Fenchurch Street, it is the first turning on the right, running down into Eastcheap. There is nothing remarkable in its present-day aspect; it is just an ordinary, rather mean-looking, City street, lined with plain solid buildings, occupied chiefly by wine merchants, tea-dealers, and fruit-brokers. By day there is the usual scurry of business life; at night the place is as silent and deserted as a graveyard. But at the time when Queen Elizabeth gave the East India Merchants their first charter, the appearance of the Lane was very different. Narrow as it now is, it was even narrower then; and in lieu of the modern pavements and asphalted roadway we must imagine an uneven surface, possibly cobbled, with a kennel running down the centre to carry off the rain-water. Of the quaint, gabled houses that stood on each side some idea may be gained from Aggas's well-known map of Elizabethan London, though, of course, we must not for a moment impute formal accuracy to his details. The materials used were almost exclusively timber, lath, and plaster, and the buildings had small windows and high-pitched roofs. Internally, save for a large living-room in the better class of house, they were cut up into a number of small, dark, smoky apartments, sparsely furnished, and to modern eyes singularly comfortless. Still, picturesque the architecture of the time undoubtedly was; and the irregularity of the street alignment, and the frequent breaks caused by tree-cumbered gardens, added yet further to the charm.

Where exactly Smythe's house stood we cannot now determine; but apparently it was not far from the Fenchurch



The Honourable S^r Thomas Smith, Knight, late Embasador from his Ma^{stie} to y^e great Emperour of Russie, Governour of y^e Hon^{ble} and famous Societies of Marchants tradinge to y^e East Indies, Muscovy, the French and Somer Islands Company, Tresurer for Virginia, etc.

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Street end of the lane, for occasionally it is spoken of as though it were in Fenchurch Street itself. We may also infer that it was on the western side, with a back entrance from Gracechurch Street. Thomas Smythe, the Governor's father (generally known as "Customer Smythe," because for many years he farmed Queen Elizabeth's customs) had a house which is described as being in the latter thoroughfare, and which contained a hall of considerable size, where a mathematical lecture was delivered by Dr. Hood in the year of the Spanish Armada. As the son's house, which in any case stood close to this spot, also included a large hall,¹ where the general assemblies of the East India Company were mostly held, we may fairly conclude that the building was the same in both cases, and that it extended, with its courtyard and approaches, from the one street to the other. It is quite possible that, after his father's death in 1591, Smythe made alterations and additions on the Philpot Lane side, which henceforth became the principal frontage. How large the mansion was may be inferred from the fact, stated by Dr. Maclean in his *Letters of Lord Carew*, that in 1619 the Marquis Tremouille, special envoy from the French King, found accommodation there for himself and a train of 120 persons.

Such was the house in a corner of which the East India Company commenced its long and splendid career. Some historians, misled, it may be, by the large amount subscribed for the first voyage and by the subsequent importance of the Company, have pictured it as starting business on a grand scale. It has been stated, for instance, that, in addition to the ordinary staff of a commercial body, Richard Hakluyt was appointed Historiographer, to hand down to posterity a minute record of its great achievements; but this is a misreading of an entry in the Court Minutes for January 29, 1601, where Hakluyt is spoken of as "the historiographer of the voyages of the East Indies," referring, of course, to his well-known work, just published. In point of fact the promoters of the new venture went to work in a much more sober and economical fashion. They did not forget that the enterprise was still in the experimental stage; that the Company's charter was liable to determination at two years'

¹ Hanging in this hall, Purchas tells us, was an Esquimaux canoe brought home in one of the North-west voyages, of which Smythe was an untiring promoter.

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notice, and in any case, unless renewed, would expire in 1615; and that at any moment the discovery of the long-sought North-west Passage to the Indies might turn the trade into another channel. They were glad enough, therefore, to accept the offer of their Governor to carry on their business in his house; and their whole staff at starting consisted of a Secretary, Richard Wright, who was one of Smythe's own servants and had other work in hand as well, and a Beadle to take round the subscription book and give notice of Court meetings. Nearly all the real work was done by the "Committees" themselves (Directors we should now call them); they collected the funds, purchased goods, ships, and provisions, interviewed factors and seamen, checked the accounts and wrote all letters of importance; while again and again we read that Master So-and-So was "entreated" to undertake some piece of work which a modern director would indignantlly declare to be the duty of the staff. In Elizabethan days, it is evident, London merchants believed thoroughly in the maxim that if you want a thing well done you should do it yourself.

Within a few weeks from the formal grant of the charter the preparations for the Company's first voyage were completed, and by the beginning of February, 1601, the ships, under Captain James Lancaster, were almost ready to put to sea. Suddenly a most unexpected thing happened. Smythe, who was the heart and soul of the enterprise, found himself caught in the vortex of politics, and was committed to the Tower on a charge of complicity in the rebellion of the Earl of Essex. That hot-headed nobleman had been for months a centre of disaffection. Having by his own folly and arrogance forfeited the Queen's favour, he had chosen to turn his personal grievance into a national one and to pose as the champion of Protestant patriotism, aiming only at foiling the machinations of Cecil and Raleigh, who, it was hinted, were scheming to secure the succession to the throne of the Spanish Infanta. He had many friends—or perhaps we should say, the dominant party had many enemies—and the gatherings at Essex House were watched by the Government with the closest vigilance. Amongst other wild talk, a plan had been mooted for making a sudden attack upon the palace, with the object of securing the Queen's person and forcing her to dismiss the obnoxious councillors; but before any decision was reached, the Earl's hand was forced by an order to appear before the Privy Council. This

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summons he refused to obey, on the ground that there was a plot against his life. Obviously, such an open defiance would not remain unpunished; and that night was spent in agitated consultations between Essex and his friends, who included the Earls of Rutland, Southampton, and Bedford, the Lords Monteagle, Sandys, and Chandos, and many others of note. On the next morning (Sunday, February 8) several members of the Council, amongst them the Lord Chief Justice and the Lord Keeper, appeared at Essex House. They were admitted, but only to be made prisoners, while Essex and his party, about 200 in all, issued forth into the Strand. To attempt Whitehall was hopeless, for Cecil, who had long had in his hands the threads of the plot, had taken all necessary precautions. A barricade of overturned coaches at Charing Cross and the placing of guards at other likely points were sufficient security until further aid could arrive. Essex did not hesitate, but turning eastwards rode rapidly into the City. He was popular with the citizens, and in his desperation he staked everything on the chance that they would rally round him and enable him to make terms with his enemies. In particular his hopes were fixed on Smythe, who as Sheriff had great influence with the trainbands, and who, the Earl had been made to believe, was willing to assist him to the utmost of his power. Early that morning he had dispatched a messenger to Smythe's house; but Wright, the latter's factotum, had refused to admit him. Another servant was sent later with a copy of a letter which Essex had drawn up for presentation to the Queen; the Sheriff, however, was with the Mayor hearing morning service at Paul's Cross, and the messenger was obliged to content himself with delivering his missive to Mrs. Smythe, who had gone to the sermon at St. Gabriel Fenchurch. As soon as possible she hurried home and showed the document to her husband, who had likewise returned in haste from the Cathedral, where the service had been interrupted by a message from the Court, warning the Mayor and Sheriffs to secure the City and send aid to Westminster.

There is no reason to doubt Smythe's subsequent protestations that he was absolutely innocent of the Earl's intentions, and had given him no grounds for relying on his assistance. It is quite possible that, like most of the Puritan party, he was personally well disposed towards him; but it was quite another thing to support him in open disloyalty, and Smythe never wavered in his determination to take no part in the

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movement. He resolved to go at once to the Lord Mayor; but at the gate of his house he was met by an advance party of the Earl's followers, on whose heels came Essex himself and the rest. Clattering into the courtyard, in spite of the Sheriff's protests, they dismounted and called for beer; while the Earl, going into the parlour, declared that he had come to Smythe for protection, as his life was in danger. Smythe urged that in that case the Mayor's house was the fittest asylum, and earnestly begged him to place himself in the hands of that functionary. Essex thereupon said he would send for the Mayor, and desired Alderman Watts to undertake that duty. By some contrivance Smythe managed to slip away at the same time, and the two, getting out at the back gate, hurried off together to their colleagues.

Meanwhile the Sheriff's unwelcome visitor, after resting a few moments, went out into Fenchurch Street and harangued the crowd which had gathered there, bidding them arm themselves and follow him, for the Queen was betrayed and the crown sold to Spain. But already in the neighbouring streets the heralds, protected by a strong guard under Lord Burghley, Cecil's elder brother, were proclaiming him a traitor; and though the citizens showed some signs of sympathy, none ventured to join him. Finding his efforts useless, Essex drew off his followers into Gracechurch Street, where he encountered not only the heralds but also the Mayor and Sheriffs. With the Mayor's approval, Smythe advanced to parley with the Earl, whom he again entreated to surrender to the civic authorities. The only reply he got was a fresh appeal to himself, "if he feared God, loved the Queen, or cared for religion"; and, seeing that he could do no good, he turned his horse and rode back to the Mayor. Baffled at all points, and scarce knowing what to do for the best, Essex made his way up Lombard Street into Cheapside and so to Ludgate, apparently intending to get back to Essex House. At Ludgate, however, he found himself in difficulties. The gate was shut, and a guard placed there by the Bishop of London bent their pikes against him. His followers' rapiers—they had no other weapons—were of little use in such a contingency, and after a short skirmish they dispersed in confusion. The Earl himself, with his principal supporters, took boat from Queenhithe to Essex House, where they were quickly besieged by the royal troops. After defending themselves till the evening, a threat of blowing in the walls with gunpowder forced them

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to yield, and Essex and his chief confederates were hurried to the Tower.

To all appearance Smythe had come safely through the crisis. On the Monday, the Queen, after making some inquiries concerning Essex's messages, expressed her thanks to him for his exertions; and on the following day he presided as usual over a meeting of the East India Committees. But ugly rumours were circulating about the Earl's allusions to promises received from Smythe; and soon the latter was summoned to the Council-table, and, after a strict examination, was committed, first to the custody of the Archbishop of Canterbury and then, a fortnight later, to the Tower. He was at the same time dismissed from his office of Sheriff, Alderman (afterwards Sir William) Craven being elected in his stead. For a time things looked serious for Smythe, and his agitation brought on a fever which threatened dangerous consequences. However, the position slowly improved. On May 5 he was examined by a commission which included the Chief Justice and Mr. Francis Bacon, who, as everyone knows, showed himself strangely zealous in hunting down his friend Essex and his reputed partisans. Apparently Smythe was able to convince his interrogators that he was innocent of the plot; for when, a few weeks later, he was brought up again at the Lord Keeper's house, he had "little said to him." He was not, however, liberated, for as late as December 23 we find him appealing to Cecil for release (*Calendar of the Hatfield MSS.*, part xi, p. 530). At what date he succeeded in obtaining his freedom does not appear.

After Smythe's arrest the East India Committees continued their work for a time under the Deputy Governor. On April 11, however, as the Deputy was about to leave town for his health, and there was no sign of Smythe's release, Alderman (afterwards Sir John) Watts was elected Governor. Even when Smythe was once more a free man, the Company did not venture to reinstate him; and Watts was succeeded, in July, 1602, by Alderman (afterwards Sir Thomas) Cambell. As Wright continued to be secretary, it is possible that the clerical work was still done at Smythe's house. The meetings of the Committees, however, were probably held at the residence of the Governor for the time being, while the General Courts took place at Founders' Hall.

At last the course of events took a more favourable turn for Smythe, and with the accession of James I fortune once more

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smiled upon him. To have been suspected of a partiality for Essex was no bar to the new sovereign's favour, and in May, 1603, Smythe received the honour of knighthood in that very Tower in which, two years earlier, he had lain a prisoner. Close upon the heels of this came the news that the East India venture had proved successful. Early in June a Mr. Middleton of Plymouth flung himself off his horse at the Governor's door with letters from the *Ascension*, announcing that the fleet had reached Achin, in Sumatra, and had there founded a factory. By the 16th the *Ascension* was in the Thames, and the Committees were hurrying to engage warehouses in which to stow her cargo of pepper.¹ The success of the voyage, which he had done so much to promote, naturally increased the estimation in which Smythe was held by his fellow adventurers, and at the annual court of election (July) he was triumphantly restored to the Governor's chair. In the autumn the rest of Lancaster's fleet arrived, with more pepper and news of an establishment at Bantam, in Java. The *Dragon* and *Hector*, especially the former, had been sorely buffeted on the homeward voyage, and at one time Lancaster, giving up all hope, sent instructions to the master of the *Hector* to leave him "at the devotion of the winds and seas"; but that is not the English way, and in defiance of all orders the *Hector* stood by her disabled consort till the weather moderated and repairs could be effected.

Of the period between June, 1603, and January, 1607, we know very little, as the Court Minutes are unfortunately missing, but we glean a few facts from other documents of the time. When the ships arrived, the plague was desolating London; trade was at a standstill, and money was scarce. The shareholders were obliged to take out their dividends in pepper and dispose of it as best they could. Yet notwithstanding all these difficulties matters were pushed forward with such energy that in six months from the date of their arrival the ships were again at sea on a second voyage under Henry Middleton. Apparently Smythe was not re-elected in July, 1604, but this is accounted for by his departure for Russia about this time, as Ambassador from King James to "the Emperour of Moscovye." On his return in the following summer he was again made Governor. In 1606, probably on

¹ They were careful not to lead their servants into temptation. The porters engaged to land the pepper were provided with "suits of canvas doublets and hose *without pockets*."

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account of his many other occupations, he yielded the chair to Sir William Romney; but in the next year he was once more elected, and thenceforward held the post for fourteen years. For that period, at all events, Smythe's house was the centre of the Company's activities.

At the beginning of 1607 the Company's officers were still only three in number—a secretary, a book-keeper, and a beadle. In the course of the year three more—a solicitor (at 40s. per annum and fees), a cashier, and a husband—were appointed. The first and third of these would not require special office accommodation; so that the amount of additional space actually needed by the Company was small. Smythe's mansion appears to have been built round a central courtyard, and probably one or two rooms on the ground floor, opening into the yard, were given over to their use. Occasionally we hear grumbling at the inconveniences resulting from the limited space available, and by 1619 at least three rooms had been set apart for the Company's sole use, including one specially fitted as a strong room. This is shown by the following amusing extract from the Court Minutes of November 19 of that year. The "General Auditors," it may be premised, were shareholders specially appointed to examine the accounts, in consequence of some dissatisfaction (of which more anon) with the way in which affairs had been managed by the regular committees; hence, possibly, the unwillingness of the latter to go out of their way to oblige those indefatigable gentlemen.

Master Deputye, being importuned by the Generall Audytors, made knowne their desire to this Court to have a new roome at their commaund, to which they may come at their pleasure, and not to be tyed to the howers that the thresourye [treasury] is open; and do motion for the ynner roome, wherin Master Thresourer doth dispose the mony, because they may be accomodated with a fire and be at libertye to come in by five of the clock in the morning and sit tyll seven or eight at night (as they have done). But it was remembered that they approved at first of the roome which they now have and were well satisfied with the conveniencie thereof, and may have a fire either in the outward thresurye or in the counting house; and the ynward roome which Master Thresourer useth, being fitted and lyned both within and without (for securitie of the thresure) could not be spared, in the judgment of this Court, who held it a seasonable tyme to beginne and end with the daylight, and judgd it very inconvenient and daungerous to

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have the gates opened at such earlye unseasonable howers, before most of the househould be stiring; and not fit to have fire and candle used so long together wher such great charge remayneth.

One special grievance of the Company's book-keepers was that in their narrow quarters the sailors could not be prevented from looking over the books when receiving their pay. Though no scholar, Jack could generally understand figures, besides having a pretty shrewd notion of the amount he ought to receive; and it was particularly awkward to have to argue the question with him unprotected by any sort of screen. Disputes and threats of violence must have been fairly common; for it was not often that unruly mariners were awed into silence by such an apparition as that described in the following extract:

One Mr. Smyth being in Mr. Governours house to presse up marryners for His Majesties service, some were of opinion that yt was not fitt to suffer him to doe yt in the house, because of terrifyinge saylours from comminge. Some contrarilie ymaged that yt was the better for the Company, because he prest none but such as the Company refusde, or stooode upon too highe tearmes with them. But to free all occasion of doubt, yt was thought that some small matter bestowed upon him by the Company would cause him to leave the house and seeke elsewhere; and therefore desired Mr. Offley to cause Mr. Smyth to speak with Mr. Governour when the Courte is ended; and entreated Mr. Governour to bestowe a matter of 40s. upon him (*Court Minutes*, December 18, 1613).

In October, 1617, an attempt was made to remedy the annoyance of having the building thronged with sailors, as shown in the following entry:

A greate inconvenyence beinge found that the marryners are enterteyned [*i.e.*, engaged] soe farre within the house, wherby itt is soe much the more annoyed and some other officers cannott bee soe private as is fittinge, it was therefore mociond to have some more convenyent place made up for thatt use neerer unto the gate, which was supposed might bee in the lower warehowse next the streate. Butt some dissuaded from bestowinge any charge in thatt nature, conceyveinge that the house in Bishoppgate Streete will shortlie bee had, and therefore to endure some inconvenyences a while longer with a little patyence. Butt because itt may bee effected with

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a very little charge, with deales thatt wilbee still fitt for service, they therefore entreated Mr. Leate and Mr. Offley to take the care and paines to effect soe much as they shall thinke fittinge for thatt present service.

Even when Jack himself was at sea, his wife (or someone claiming to be his wife) was giving trouble. In July, 1615, it was decided that all petitions from mariners' wives should be referred to one of the Committees, as the Governor was much pestered by such applications and "cannot have that libertie and freedome in his howse which is needfull for preservation of his health but that he is troubled with their clamours and petitions." Every Christmas the Company distributed alms in Stepney to relatives of their sailors; but often, when winter was sharp, a body of wild-eyed women would invade Philpot Lane, demanding part of their husbands' wages to keep themselves and their children from starving. Officialdom could of course pay nothing without legal proof of authority to receive, and was, besides, unwilling to disburse any money on account of wages which might not be really due, for Jack might have died the day after leaving port; so Jill must trudge home again unsatisfied. One unhappy creature, failing to get relief, so far "exceded the boundes of modestie and humanitie" as to leave her baby at the Governor's door; an act for which she was promptly committed to Bridewell. Poor Martha Bedell! She must have repented right heartily her indiscretion, for in those days a prison was a veritable Inferno.

The alarm inspired by these Amazon raids was amusingly shown when in 1614 the Committees were debating whether Captain Saris, on his return from his successful expedition to Japan, should be accommodated with a lodging at the Governor's house. After some discussion it was resolved that he should; but one of the objections urged against this course was that Smythe would be inconvenienced by "the clamor that will be made by the woemen of Radcliffe against the Captaine at his retourne, whoe will exclaime against him for his rigor used against there husbands."

The two or three rooms occupied by the staff of course did not represent the whole of the accommodation afforded to the Company by its Governor. No doubt the Committees held their courts in one of the parlours; while general assemblies took place in the large hall, recourse being had to the Merchant Taylors' Hall when an unusually large meeting was

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expected. In Smythe's hall, too, the Company gathered at times with festive intent. Thus in 1609, the Earl of Southampton having sent them a brace of bucks "to make merry withall, in regard of their kindnes in acceptinge him of their Company," some of the Committees were told off to arrange that "some dynner be made for the whole Company to have their parts thereof . . . at Mr. Governours howse." When in 1619 the Dutch sent commissioners to smooth over the differences which had arisen between the two Companies, the delegates were entertained both at Smythe's house and in the Merchant Taylors' Hall; while a dinner was also given at the former place to the lords who had been appointed to act as the English commissioners. Doubtless there were other similar entertainments, but of a more private nature, to which the principal members were bidden by the Governor in order to honour such distinguished servants as Lancaster or Roe or Dale, or to meet the many noble lords who had been admitted into the fellowship. Civic hospitality has become proverbial, and we may feel sure that the famous London Tavern banquets of later days had their prototypes under the rule of the first Governor.

It was obviously a prudent policy on the part of the Company to keep on good terms with the principal members of King James's Court; and the latter on their side were by no means unwilling to oblige so wealthy and important a body. Alliances, matrimonial and otherwise, between the nobility and the magnates of commerce were as common then as now. We have already mentioned the admission of the Earl of Southampton to the freedom of the Company in the summer of 1609; and the Court Minutes record that the Governor was empowered at the same time to offer a similar compliment to the Lord Treasurer (the Earl of Salisbury), the Lord High Admiral (the Earl of Nottingham), the Earl of Worcester, and other noblemen. Early in 1618 Lord Chancellor Bacon solicited, and was accorded, the same privilege. In the same year one of the Committees boasted that the Company comprised the greater part of the nobility, judges, and gentry; and the list of actual subscribers to the Second Joint Stock includes the names of fifteen dukes and earls, and thirteen ladies of title. Largely as a matter of necessity—for he was not loved in the City—James's favourite, the Earl of Somerset, was used by the Company as a go-between when they had favours to solicit from the King; and on the occasion of his

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marriage to the infamous Countess of Essex, they presented him with gold plate to the value of £600.

These relations, however, were not without their drawbacks, for often a petitioner for employment would back up his suit by procuring the intercession of some personage whom the Committees were loth to displease. Sometimes, when the candidate was a passable one and the office sought was unimportant, they would give way; but at other times they stood sturdily to their guns. Thus when, at the very outset of the trade, the Lord Treasurer "used much persuasion" for the appointment of Sir Edward Michelborne to the command of the fleet, they deputed one of their number "to move His Lordship to be pleased noe further to urge the imployment of this gent. to the Companie, and to geave them leave to sort ther busines with men of ther owne qualety, and not to expecte that they should make any further motion of this matter to the generality, lest the suspition of the imployment of gents being taken hold uppon do dryve a great number of the adventurers to withdrawe ther contributions." And when again, in November, 1615, another suitor brought letters from the Earl of Nottingham (Lord High Admiral), it was resolved to "entreate His Lordship either to forbear to write any more in the behalfe of any, or else not to take it ill from the Company that they doe not yeild unto his motions."

Admission to the freedom of the Company, we may note in passing, was by no means an empty compliment. For one thing, it was an essential preliminary to the holding of any stock. As is still the case with the City Livery Companies, admission could only be obtained (1) by patrimony, that is to say, in right of a father who has been a member; (2) by service, *i.e.*, after a regular apprenticeship either to a freeman or to the Company; (3) by redemption, the would-be member making a cash payment; (4) by the gift of the Court, as in the cases already mentioned. In the first two classes, a fine was levied on every admission, but this was little more than nominal, say 10s. to the poor-box, and the usual fee to the Secretary. Once admitted, the new member could exercise certain privileges, such as attending the general meetings and sales, without necessarily investing a penny in the Company's stock; but, as already mentioned, no one could hold stock without being or becoming a freeman. As time went on, the obvious desirability of widening the market for shares led to measures for facilitating the grant of the franchise. When in 1693 the

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Company's capital was doubled, the new charter decreed that all fresh subscribers should be admitted without charge, and that subsequent purchasers of stock should obtain the freedom for a payment of £5. Even this was abrogated nine years later, doubtless because the new Company, founded in 1698, had wisely adopted the plan of accepting anyone as a member who bought its scrip. By the working agreement concluded between the two bodies in 1702, and ratified by the Queen, the old Company was authorized to admit without payment all purchasers of its stock; and when, seven years later, it expired, the position of "freeman of the East India Company" expired with it.¹

[To be continued.]

THE ORIGIN OF MARKETS AND FAIRS, AND THE EARLY HISTORY OF THOSE AT LUTON.

BY WILLIAM AUSTIN.

SIR EDWARD COKE, in his *Institutes*, tells us that every fair is a market, but every market is not a fair. The explanation of this is simple when we consider what is meant by markets and fairs. Viewed in their strictly legal aspect they are identical in all their essential qualities. They are both duly authorized concourses of buyers and sellers of commodities, held at places more or less limited, and at appointed times. Both have generally, but not necessarily, attached to them the right to levy tolls and other dues;

¹ The admission of merchant strangers, aliens, and denizens to the freedom was sanctioned by a royal grant in November, 1610; and evidently women were occasionally permitted to enter the Company. In November, 1614, we hear of a widow who had paid £20 for her freedom. She had married again, and her second husband (a non-member) claimed to have the stock transferred to him without further payment. The point was debated, but the Court at last gave up the conundrum and decided to leave the couple to settle matters between themselves. Again, on January 29, 1679, Mrs. Borough, another widow, was admitted as an adventurer on payment of £5, and it was agreed that her sons should have the right to claim the freedom on the same terms as if their father had been a freeman.

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both are presumed to have been the subject of a grant or charter from the Crown; and there was incident to both a local court of summary jurisdiction, to punish offences and enforce contracts. In what then consisted the difference? It was that whereas a market was held at least once every week, a fair was held but once or perhaps twice in a year. And there was yet another and a fundamental distinction in this respect, that markets had their origin in the earliest stages of our civilization for the purpose of supplying the commonest necessities of life, from week to week; while fairs were derived from religious festivals, and in their inception had no connection with trade or business. They, however, afforded facilities for trade to such an extent that in the course of time the religious element receded, and the fair became a great concourse of traders and pleasure-seekers only, and ceased to be a religious festival.

The religious origin of fairs is, I think, extremely interesting; they were older than Christianity, and existed in all parts of the civilized world. They were known to the Greeks in connection with the Olympic games. Cicero states that in the time of Pythagoras a great number of people attended the religious games in various cities of Greece for the purpose of trading. It was from the Greeks that the practice of selling slaves at fairs spread to the north of Europe, to England, and to Luton. Fairs were common among the Eastern nations, as we learn in the instance of the great city of Tyre, mentioned by the Prophet Isaiah; read also that splendid piece of writing, the twenty-seventh chapter of Ezekiel, where you will find graphic references to both fairs and markets. In Rome, from the earliest days of the Republic, we find mention of fairs, and in both Greece and Rome the existence of a local court in connection with both markets and fairs. After the conversion of the Romans to Christianity, fairs were associated with the great "Saints festivals," and were in most instances survivals of fairs connected with pagan festivals.

The Roman markets were held every ninth day, when the people came together to hear new laws declared, but after the adoption of the seven day week and the Christian Sunday, markets were commonly held on Sunday.

Coming to Northern Europe and England we find that fairs were derived from tribal and national usages. At stated times in the year the people assembled in great numbers at certain centres to celebrate their pagan rites, with much feast-

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ing and indulgence in sports and pastimes. These occasions were held in such estimation by the English that, after the people had been converted to Christianity, rather than give up these festivals, they either returned to paganism or else mixed together Christian and pagan rites, to the great scandal of the missionaries from Rome. Complaint being made to Pope Gregory the Great, he wrote in the year 601 a famous letter which has often been quoted. It is an interesting piece of history if only as showing that the preparations for those festivals were in many respects similar to the preparations for holding fairs ten or twelve hundred years after he wrote. The Pope's letter says :

After due consideration of the habits of the English nation, that because they have been used to slaughter many oxen in their sacrifices to devils, some solemnity must be provided for them in substitution for their ancient festivals. Therefore let them continue to have their feasts and sacrifices, but let them be on the anniversary of the dedication of those buildings which have been turned from pagan temples into Christian Churches, the Church's day for the celebration of the particular saint to whom such Church has been dedicated will be most appropriate for such purpose. Then let them build themselves booths of the boughs of trees about those Churches as of yore, and no more offer beasts to the devil but rather kill and eat cattle to the praise of God. It is impossible to efface everything at once from their obdurate minds; he who tries to rise to the highest place, rises by degrees and not by leaps !

The church at Luton was dedicated to the Virgin Mary, and accordingly the annual fair began on the vigil or eve of the feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin (August 15th) and lasted for a week ; it was held in the churchyard, and for more than eight hundred years the people built themselves booths of the boughs of trees about the precincts of the church, and thereafter in the market-place, for the purposes of the annual fair, "as of yore." Thus we see that the oldest of our Luton fairs, which used to be held in the month of August, had its origin in some pagan festival of our Saxon forefathers, but at what period trade and commerce were introduced as adjuncts to the ancient festival is not known.

As our English weekly market seems to be derived from the Roman market held every ninth day, so the grant or creation of the franchise of a weekly market may be traced

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to the Civil Law. The Roman Senate, before the close of the Republic, claimed and exercised the right to grant or refuse a market. The same practice obtained under the Empire, and it is clear, from one of the letters of the younger Pliny, that upon the hearing of an application of a Roman landowner for a grant of a market, a neighbouring town might oppose, by counsel, such a grant, on the ground that it would be prejudicial to an existing market. A precisely similar practice has existed in England from Saxon times. Every grant of a market or fair in England, from time immemorial, was made by the Crown, conditionally, that it did not prejudice the rights of any existing market, and counsel might be heard in opposition to a proposed grant. In the days of our Plantagenet kings it was sought to fix a definite limit, and a distance of six and two-thirds of a mile was adopted, upon this reasoning, that an ordinary day's journey on foot was twenty miles; that a man attending market should have time to go and return, and also sufficient time to do his business in the market.

An examination of our Saxon laws in relation to markets and fairs shows great anxiety to secure fair dealing between buyer and seller, and it was repeatedly ordained that contracts must be made before "unlying" witnesses and within the precincts of duly authorized markets. Some of us might think that these laws had for their object the protection of the rights of the owners of markets, but I do not think that was so; the object of these laws seems to me to have been to provide securities against fraud. Even with all the advantages of open markets, the presence of witnesses and a court on the spot to try disputes, we find, from the publications of the Selden Society of the records of some of these Courts, how many attempts there were to establish absolutely fictitious contracts. Hardly any sitting of the Court passed without one or more of such cases being tried.

The advantage of requiring bargains to be made in open markets was that in every town there was to be found a special class of men called to witness transfers of property; men who were known as the *probi homines villae*, the good or credible, "unlying," lawful, that is to say, law-abiding, men of the town. William the Conqueror found that the sale of horses and cattle was in his day especially a business at which his English subjects were always at law: he therefore ordained that such transactions should take place only in

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cities and towns, and then only before three faithful witnesses; "and let no fair be held except in cities and in boroughs enclosed and walled or in castles and very secure places, where the customs of our realm and our common right and the royalties of our crown, as they were constituted by our good predecessors, may not perish, nor be defrauded, or infringed, but all things be done rightly, and in public, and by judgment and justice."

Another excellent principle in the Saxon laws was the prohibition of Sunday marketing. A law of Edward, about 906, provided that if anyone engage in Sunday marketing, let him forfeit the chattel, and 12 "oras"¹ among the Danes, and 30s. among the English; there was a law of Athelstan, in 925 to the same effect. The law was relaxed about 940, but re-enacted in 1008 and again in 1014. The frequent repetition of these laws suggests that they were ineffectual, and that, notwithstanding these edicts, Sunday markets were common in England. The Conqueror sanctioned still greater laxity by expressly naming Sunday as the market day in some of his charters. Luton market was not only held on Sunday, but round about the church; in some places the market was actually held inside the church. That some pious Englishmen deplored this irreverent practice may be learned from an incident that happened on April 23, 1172, at Cardiff. Henry II was returning from hearing mass, when a man addressed him in English, saying:

God keep thee, O king! Christ and his Holy Mother, John the Baptist and Peter the Apostle greet thee, and by me order thee to forbid all fairs and markets on the Lord's day, and all unnecessary labour; and take heed that the sacred offices be devoutly administered, So shalt thou prosper!

There was a movement for doing away with Sunday markets in the reign of King John, and by the time of Edward III the practice had ceased, so far as Bedfordshire was concerned, but it was not until the reign of Henry VII that the legislature interfered, and even then exception was made in favour of four Sundays during harvest, a reservation that was not removed from the statute book till the reign of Queen Victoria.

It is remarkable that only one fair is mentioned in Domesday Book, and that the number of markets of sufficient value

¹ A coin worth from 16*d.* to 20*d.*

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to be subject to taxation was comparatively few; only three are mentioned in Bedfordshire, namely Luton, Leighton, and Arlesey. Luton, with its tolls, was worth 100s.; Leighton was worth 140s.; and Arlesey was valued at only 10s.

I do not think it is to be inferred that fairs were unknown, or that the markets named were the only ones then in existence. It seems to me that a fair, being a market, was included in the valuation of the market, and that some markets were not of sufficient value to be taxed. Professor Cunningham states that the silence of Domesday is not absolutely conclusive, "nor do Charters prove the date of the origin of a fair; fairs which were granted to particular persons may have existed before that time, either as mere usurpations or in the king's own hands." In the case of Luton we know that the manor and the market were in the King's own hands, and had been Crown property for centuries. When Domesday was compiled there were very few towns as we understand the term. In such towns as were existing, at that time, there were no shops stored with goods ready for sale. If we take the two commonest classes of modern shops, grocers and butchers, these were absolutely unknown; in many places they are of comparatively recent introduction. I do not believe permanent butchers' shops were known in Luton earlier than the middle of the nineteenth century. In every village in England, at the time of the Survey, there was to be found a larger proportion of craftsmen than can be found in villages in these days; each household, or possibly each group of households, had sufficient skill for supplying the main articles of clothing and domestic use, not only at the time of the Conquest but for many centuries later. The weekly markets provided all that was needed of the commonest necessities that were not produced by the people themselves; and the annual fairs, with their temporary shops erected for the occasion, supplemented to some extent by the travelling chapmen, sufficed for the greater part of the internal commerce of the country. Even when we come to the reign of Edward I and the records of the Hundred Rolls, 200 years later than the Domesday Survey, we find that such shops as were then in existence were mostly primitive structures of wood erected in the market-place, having let-down fronts to serve for a counter, such as may be seen in use in various parts of England at the present time. I have myself seen them in use in parts of Norfolk and Suffolk.

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While we gather from Domesday the fact that the manor of Luton was Crown property, we learn from the same source that the church and the lands attached to it, forming the church manor, had also been part of the manor, but at some remote period had been separated from it. In the reign of Richard I the manor was given to Baldwin de Bethune, Earl of Albemarle, and in the reign of Henry II the church and its manor had been given to the Abbat of St. Albans. When Earl Baldwin came to Luton to take possession of his manor, he was met by a claim of the Abbat to certain rights in Luton, that included a share in the annual fair and a status in the weekly market, which, the Abbat alleged, were appurtenant to Luton Church. Earl Baldwin was a good Churchman, and it was characteristic of the man that, instead of going to law with the Abbat, he held an inquisition at Luton, and as a result of that inquiry he executed a very important deed of confirmation of the rights of the Abbat.

The Abbats of St. Albans had enjoyed their franchise connected with the fair at Luton for over a hundred years, when they were called upon to prove their title. The inquisition came about in this way: When Edward I returned from the Crusade, two years after he succeeded to the throne, he set about reforming many abuses. Some say that he was not influenced by a higher motive than the replenishment of an exhausted exchequer, and he certainly fined a number of his judges and other public officers very heavily for irregularities; but the subject that most seriously engaged his attention was the encroachments that had undoubtedly been made on the royal estates and revenues. For many years there had been going on, all over the country, a practice of sub-infeudation, by which innumerable manors had been created within manors, as for instance in the great royal manor of Luton, where nearly thirty minor manors had been created since the middle of the reign of Henry I within a period of about 150 years. The effect was to deprive the King or his tenants-in-chief of many of their most valuable assets, in the shape of military services, wardship of minors, the right of disposing of heirs in marriage, etc., some of which by the creation of these smaller manors had passed from the King or his immediate tenants into the hands of the lords of such smaller manors to such an extent, that the King's tenants-in-chief declared they were unable to render the obligations and services on which they held their

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estates. The franchises of markets and fairs had also been the subject of similar divisions and sub-divisions, to the great loss of the King's revenue. The King appointed Commissioners, whom he charged to inquire into these matters in each county. The survey was conducted in very much the same way as that of the Conqueror, but was much more elaborate and exhaustive; in many cases the inquiries as to proof of title were carried back for several generations. The result of these investigations is embodied in what are known as the Hundred Rolls, some of which may be seen at the Record Office at the present time. The facts set out in these Rolls were obtained from sworn jurors from each manor, taken on the spot. From the information thus obtained extracts were made of all matters which called for further inquiry, a work which occupied several years, as it was not until four years after the making of these extracts commenced that the Commissioners were ready with the facts upon which might be founded further proceedings against those persons whose titles were supposed to be defective. These proceedings began in 1278, before the King's judges in the Assize Courts, but the issues tried were of such a complicated nature that the judges had not completed their work in the fourth year of King Edward II, thirty-three years after the proceedings commenced.

No exception was taken to the title of the lord of the manor of Luton in his manor of Luton, or to his right to the market and fair, but the Abbat of St. Albans did not get off so easily. Proceedings were commenced against him, but were not disposed of until the assizes in January, 1287. The following is a translation of these proceedings:

Pleas of the Lord the King *de quo warranto* before John de Mettingham and Thomas de Bray, Justices appointed for that purpose, on the morrow of St. Hilary 15 Edw. I [1286-7].

The Abbat of St. Albans was summoned to answer the king of a plea by what warrant [*quo warranto*] he claimed to have view of frankpledge, fair and waif in Luton, etc.

And the Abbat by his attorney comes and says that in a certain hamlet which is called Bishopescott he has six tithing men who come to his view of Luton, and he says that he claims to have held the said view of all his immediate tenants in the said vill twice a year and without the king's bailiff, and he gives the king nothing for having that view. And he proffers a charter of Henry II, in which charter is a clause to the effect that the king gave to the Abbey of St. Albans the church in

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the district which is called Bishopescott, which also pertains to the soke of Luton and to his demesne. And as to the fair, he says that his predecessors in the time of Henry aforesaid, and in the time of King Stephen and in the time of King Richard, had the said fair, etc.

The record further states that the Abbat claimed that his right in Luton Fair lasted "from the eve of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary to the hour of vespers on the day of the feast, with all customs pertaining to a fair, excepting toll of horses and tanned hides." He founded his claim to the church upon a charter of Henry II, but claimed the fair by prescription, as appurtenant to his manor of Luton Church. Counsel for the Crown pleaded that a fair could not be appurtenant to the manor, but the matter being left to the jury they gave a verdict in favour of the Abbat.

His rights were again called in question some forty or forty-three years later in the reign of Edward III, but as he was again successful I need not go into the details of those proceedings, which are recorded on the Assize Roll. I learn from these Rolls that the titles to seventeen markets and as many fairs were investigated in Bedfordshire, and I note that none of those markets were at that time held on Sunday.

Professor Cunningham, with reference to the information contained in the Hundred Rolls, remarks how greatly the trade of the country had grown since the time of the Conquest, and that though the Hundred Rolls had a legal rather than a directly financial bearing, they preserved details which throw an immense amount of light on every side of industrial and commercial life. He adds that by far the greater part of the internal trade of the country was carried on at the occasional fairs rather than at the regular markets, and that an examination of the Hundred Rolls leaves on the mind an impression of most rapid growth of home and foreign trade since the Conquest; a considerable increase in the population, both rural and urban; that the number of free tenants had increased enormously; and that many towns had become not only agricultural but industrial and commercial groups. How far this picture was true as applied to Luton we can only conjecture. In towns such, for instance, as Nottingham, there was in the year 1330 a movement in the direction of "protection" for the trade guilds by reducing the time of the local fairs four days, but in Luton it is evident that the people were still

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mainly dependent on the fair for their supply of home and foreign manufactures. So far from curtailing the existing fair I find that in 1337 Hugh de Mortimer, the then lord of the manor of Luton, petitioned Edward III not only for another annual fair, but also for an additional weekly market. The usual inquiry was held as to whether such a grant would be prejudicial to other existing fairs and markets, and there being no opposition, a charter was granted. The new market day was Thursday, and the new fair was to last three days, namely, on the vigil, on the day, and on the morrow of St. Luke the Evangelist, October 17, 18, and 19.

I thought possibly this new Thursday market might be in substitution for the ancient Monday market, but such was not the case. There is a curious piece of evidence that the Monday market had not been superseded, which may be seen in the Chronicle of Thomas of Walsingham, a monk of St. Albans. Thomas was a contemporary writer, and he tells us that during the time of Thomas de la Mare, who was Abbat from 1351 to 1367, one Philip de Limbury was living at Limbury in Luton, a famous knight, of extreme pride and haughtiness, and a friend of John of Gaunt. Not only Philip, but several of his ancestors have left on record in Luton history that they were men of a turbulent and tyrannical disposition, and much given to violent acts of disseisin of their neighbours' rights. As the Abbat of St. Albans owned lands at Biscot and Dallow, and was therefore a neighbour of Philip of Limbury, it is not surprising to us to learn that Philip had a deep-seated quarrel with the Abbat.

One Monday, during the market at Luton, John Moot, the cellarer to the Abbey, a man of no mean consequence, was riding through Luton with his attendants, on his way from Hexton to St. Albans. Unfortunately Philip de Limbury and a number of his men were in the market at the same time, and an altercation between the parties could hardly be avoided. The knight and his men laid violent hands on John Moot, pulled him from off his horse, and clapped him in the pillory standing in the market-place, "in hatred of the Abbat and in utter contempt of religion," says Walsingham; and indeed anyone who showed disrespect to even the meanest servant of a religious house was always deemed a specially grievous sinner against Holy Church. The Abbat brought an action for assault and imprisonment against the knight which was likely to have gone seriously against him had not John of

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Gaunt interposed and brought matters to an agreement, on condition that the knight made an offering on the altar of the Martyr. The monks always alleged miraculous evidences of the displeasure of the Proto-Martyr on such occasions, and we are therefore prepared to learn that the Martyr would not permit Philip to approach the altar, but that when he did at last step forward the blood gushed from his nose with such violence that he was forced to retire. On advancing a second time the same thing happened to him, whereupon Philip requested to be permitted to deposit his offering in a box, but this also the Martyr refused to accept, and after some time the knight departed. "The memory of this event" (continues the Chronicler) "struck many with admiration; the number of witnesses was very great; and it was considered as a vengeance from the martyr; and by all the sober-minded and pious, as an event that should caution bold men against offending God or those who administer in his worship."

[To be continued.]

THE HAYMARKET, LONDON. HISTORICAL AND ANECDOTAL.

By J. HOLDEN MACMICHAEL, author of *The Story of Charing Cross*.

[Continued from vol. 13, p. 280.]

CHAPTER V.

SINCE Stow mentions Paulet's Ordinary as being at the corner of James Street, and since Paulet's Ordinary is described in Lucas's *Lives of the Gamesters* as being at the Blue Posts in the Haymarket, it may be surmised that this historic tavern was originally on the east side of the Haymarket at the corner of James Street, and that the site is now occupied by Clarence Chambers. But I have seen it elsewhere described as at No. 59, Haymarket, in which case, unless the numbering has been altered, the site is occupied now by the premises of Messrs. Waukenphast, the bootmakers, on the west side of the street. The sign may, of course, have been transferred to a house opposite. But whatever its vicissitudes

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the Blue Posts was a famous resort, before there were any clubs to speak of, for more than two centuries, on account of the excellence of its dinners. Since writing the above I have become acquainted with a valuable old street-plan, which has kindly been lent to me by an old Haymarket firm, where the "Blue Post Chop House and Travellers' Hotel, E. Bond," is distinctly numbered 59, Haymarket, and is the third house past Norris Street, going towards Pall Mall.

The close of the last week, one Mr. Morn and one Mr. Hurst, quarrelled at the Blue Posts in the Haymarket; and as they came out at the door they drew their swords, and the latter was run through and immediately died. It appears that he began the Fray and drew first, pressing the other gentleman to fight.¹

In February, 1685-6, Henry Wharton, brother of the statesman, Thomas, Marquis of Wharton, killed Lieut. Moxon by way of putting a period to some tipsy altercation. At this time the Haymarket was remarkable as a place of residence, or at all events temporary sojourn, for "people of quality." The Earl of Scarborough, the Duchess of Devonshire, the Duke of Dorset, Sir Samuel Garth, and Sir William Wyndham, occupied houses in the thoroughfare that so often rejoiced in the scent of the imported hay.

In the diary of Dr. Thomas Cartwright, Bishop of Chester, under the date October 4, 1686, is the entry: "I entertained the Bishops of Oxon and St. David's [*i.e.*, Dr. Samuel Parker and Dr. John Lloyd], Mr. Ashton, Mr. Brookes, my son, Mr. Callis, &c., at the Blue Posts in the Haymarket."²

When Colonel Mottley, who was a great favourite with James II, came over on a secret expedition from the abdicated monarch, the Government, who had by some means intelligence of it, were very diligent in their endeavours to get him seized. He, however, eluded their search, but several others were at different times seized in mistake for him. Among these, one Mr. Tredenham, a Cornish gentleman, frequently supped at the Blue Posts, and particular orders were given for searching the house. Colonel Mottley, however, not happening to be there, the messengers found Mr. Tredenham alone, and with a heap of papers before him. These and himself they carried away before the Earl of Nottingham, then Secretary of State. His Lordship, who could not fail

¹ *The Postboy*, ending July 23, 1695.

² Ed. 1843 p. 3.

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to know him as he was a member of the House of Commons, and nephew to the famous Sir Edward Seymour, asked him what all those papers contained, Mr. Tredenham said they were only the several scenes of a play which he had been scribbling for the amusement of a few leisure hours, upon which Lord Nottingham requested just to look over them, which having done, he returned them again to the author, assuring him that he was perfectly satisfied; for "Upon my word," he said, "I see no plot in them."¹

There is an entry in the diary of Henry, Earl of Clarendon, January 4, 1687-8, to the following effect:

I dined with Sir Richard Bellings. In the afternoon a friend came to see me, who told me that yesterday there had been a meeting of several Papists at the Blue Posts in the Haymarket; that some in the company seemed dissatisfied that Mr. Culliford was made one of the Commissioners of the Customs; to which Sir Nicholas Bubler replied, that it could not be helped, for there was still a Rochesterian faction in the Court, who will sometimes find means of carrying some things. This is very pleasant, when (if I am rightly informed) Sir Nicholas Bubler himself was the occasion of bringing Culliford out of Ireland, and making him a commissioner here. Most certain it is, the King hearkens more to Sir Nicholas Bubler than to any one, in all things relating to the affairs of the Customs.²

On the dissolution of Parliament, November 11, 1701, the Tory scribes, Dr. Drake, a poor physician without patients, and Dr. Davenant, perhaps a Chancery lawyer without briefs, took the field as Tory pamphleteers, along with others, to prop up, if possible, the French or Pretender interests in this country, especially among the electors. The Whigs also had their writers in support of their party; so that the whole country was inundated with pamphlets, lampoons, squibs, satires, truths, and falsehoods in all forms of prose and verse. By chance the Whigs had detected Dr. Davenant, Mr. A. Hammond, and Mr. John Tudenham, three members conspicuous for their zeal in the French interests, supping with M. Poussin, the French electioneering agent, at the Blue Posts in the Haymarket, immediately after the dissolution of

¹ Creed's *Tavern Signs*; a miscellaneous collection in ten or twelve volumes in the British Museum Library.

² *Correspondence and Diary of Henry, Lord Clarendon*, 1828, vol. 2, p. 153.

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Parliament had been proclaimed. These three names were taken, along with 160 more members who always voted for the French or Pretender interest, and were supposed to be in the pay of the King of France. Their names were printed on a placard, and the most obnoxious in black letters; and the placard, called "the Black List," was circulated by thousands through the country; M. Poussin, the Frenchman, was ordered to leave the country in a few hours.¹

He (Captain H——) was not ignorant of Grand Trick-track, a French Game, most commonly us'd by Persons of the first Quality from whom he won on one night 1450*l.* at Paulet's Ordinary at the Blue Posts in the Haymarket.²

Paulet appears from this to have been the landlord of the Blue Posts.

No. 12 the Haymarket was the home of the Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, until, like the Microscopical Society, it removed to 20, Hanover Square. It was established in December, 1843, under the title of the British Archaeological Association, for the investigation, preservation, and illustrating of all ancient monuments of history, customs, arts, etc., relating to the United Kingdom.

On Friday, March 21, 1800, a furious fire broke out in a "brothel" in James Street, opposite the Tennis Court, when the Eidophusikon, in a house adjoining, was destroyed at the loss of 600*l.*, and no insurance. The proprietor of the Eidophusikon, Mr. Chapman (husband of Mrs. Chapman of Covent Garden Theatre) went over the whole of his premises, but could discover no signs of an approaching conflagration, otherwise than by a strong burning smell which appeared to come from James Street. Searching the house alluded to at the back of the exhibition he discovered one of the bedrooms on fire, which in a few minutes burst into flame. At twelve o'clock three houses were involved and half an hour later the Hole-in-the-Wall in Panton Street, having caught fire, was destroyed in the space of an hour, also a tallow-chandler's next door. The tallow caused the fire to rage with renewed violence; but, at last, owing to the unwearied exertions of the firemen, the fire was got under. A sergeant of the 2nd regiment of Foot Guards, of the name of Poole, who was assisting the landlord of the Hole-in-the-Wall in the removal of his furniture over the tops of the houses, found his sight impeded by the smoke, and stepped upon the sky-

¹ *Life of Daniel Defoe.*

² Lucas's *Lives of the Gamesters*, p. 645.

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light of a chemist's in the Haymarket, named Falwasser. Precipitated through this upon a flight of stairs, he broke two ribs and his neck, and was dead before there was time even to apply the ridiculous remedy of bleeding. The deceased soldier was a freemason and universally respected.¹

It is apparently the Fives Court in James Street which John Hamilton Reynolds mentions in his sonnet "On Hearing St. Martin's Bells on my way Home from a Sparring Match at the Fives Court":

Beautiful bells! That on this airy eve
Swoon with such deep and mellow cadences,—
Filling,—then leaving empty the rapt breeze;—
Pealing full voic'd,—and seeming now to grieve
 In distant dreaming sweetness!—ye bereave
 My mind of worldly care by dim degrees;—
 Dropping the balm of falling melodies
 Over a heart that yearneth to receive.
Oh, doubly soft ye seem!—since even but now
 I've left the Fives-Court rush,—the flash,—the rally,
 The noise of "Go it, Jack,"—the stop—the blow,—
The shout—the chattering hit—the check—the sally;—
 Oh, doubly sweet ye seem to come and go;—
 Like peasants' pipes, at peace time, in a valley!²

One of the oldest surviving among the multifarious trades of London is that of the Italian warehousemen. And of these probably the oldest are Messrs. Barto Valle, now at No. 60, Haymarket, who still preserve on their stationery the old original sign of "The Orange Tree and Two Jars." A curious fact concerning the latter half of this sign is that the firm still import their oil in jars—the oil jar which is still so familiar to-day as a sign over the premises of the oilman—the rule to which this is an exception being that it is now universally the custom to import it in casks. The wholesale dealers used to deposit the oil in large quantities in what were called "oil-cellars," of which there was one under a brazier's shop in Tower Street, between Seething Lane and Mark Lane and another "great oil cellar" under the new warehouse in St. Mary Axe, both in the year 1741. This was olive oil, the most popular and universal of all the oils, being chiefly used in medicine, foods, salads, and in manufactures. The best was made in Provence; but that which was received in this

¹ *Gentleman's Magazine*, March, 1800, pp. 271-2.

² *The Fancy*. A Selection from the Poetical Remains of the late Peter Corcoran, of Gray's Inn, 1820, p. 93.

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country was brought from Lucca and Florence in jars, half jars, and half-chests. The last were wooden packages containing flasks.

Perhaps it will be of interest to give here a list of the commodities, some of them curiously named, in which the Italian warehousemen dealt, through their having been in vogue among the fashionable classes between 1740 and 1820. There were Genoa vermicelli, and barley vermicelli of all sorts; sweet biscuits, made of almonds, eggs, and sugar, known as Macaroons, which were considered a very fashionable food among Italian fops, whence the name was applied to them as well as to the biscuits;¹ Andarina and Cagliari pastes, for thickening soups and for converting veal broth into "delicious white soup, the flavour being much improved by the addition of lean ham fried"; essence of lobster and of anchovies, zoob-ditty mutch, and sauce royal; Japan soy,² lemon pickle, walnut and mushroom ketchups, oyster ketchup, Hanoverian sauce for game, Quin's sauce, Camp sauce, Harvey's sauce, coratch [? corage made from bugloss], red and white French vinegar, Tarragona and garlic vinegar, Cayenne, Chili vinegar, essences of parsley, celery, mint, thyme, marjoram, etc., for flavouring soup; millet, semolina, Patna rice; Parmesan, Gruyère, Chap-sigre, and Stilton cheese; Venice treacle;³ Morell's foreign and English truffles, dry, green, and preserved; Gorgona anchovies; French sirrup of Capillaire, fine double distilled Orange-flower-water; true Monte Oliveto Naples soap [fancy the bath-biassed Britisher going to Naples for his soap!]; true Castile and Venetian soap; fine Sans Pareil water and

¹ They were but a diminutive form of the "march pane" or almond cake mentioned in *Romeo and Juliet*, act i, sc. v.

² Soy, when genuine, is an extract of the Soy bean, but it frequently consists entirely of molasses, and is of Oriental origin. The beans are boiled until the water is nearly evaporated, and they begin to burn, when they are taken from the fire and placed in large wide-mouthed jars, exposed to the sun and air; water, and a certain portion of molasses, or very brown sugar, are added, and the jars are stirred well every day, until the liquor and beans are completely mixed and fermented; the material is then strained, salted, boiled, and skimmed, until clarified; and will, after this last process, become of a very deep brown colour, and keep any length of time. The composition is entirely a vegetable one, of an agreeable flavour, and said to be wholesome. Possibly a present-day sauce that the writer wots of is either founded on it, or identical.

³ Taylor, the water poet, in his metrical account of Old Parr, says:

"And Garlick he esteemed above the rate
Of Venice treacle, or best Methridate."

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Carmelitan water; mushrooms and champignons, dried or in powder; dried artichoke bottoms; "that highly prized luxury, *sauer kraut*"; Roman capers; Bologna "sausidges" [Hogarth's spelling]; Mortadele, Bayonne, and Westphalia hams; Dutch beef; fine green citron, and French apricots; lavender and Hungary water from Montpellier; artificial flowers; Genoa velvet; lustrings,¹ "sattins," padesois, damasks, lute and violin strings; fans, "Legorne" hats; the best "jessamin" oil, essences of bergamot, lavender and lemon; French prunes; new prunelloes, Chianti Florence wine; St. Loran wine; Moscatel and Nessa wine; Malta brackets; Malvoisia Candia, Sicily and other wines.

Barto (Bartholomew) Valle's is said to be mentioned in *Don Juan*. Although the family of Barto Valle has long become extinct, at all events in connection with this interesting firm, the present proprietors have wisely decided to retain the name. It was established in 1736, and until 1903, I think, it was at 21, Haymarket, now at No. 60. Having already discussed the latter half of their sign of the "Orange Tree and Two Jars," the former part, the "Orange Tree," also invites a little attention.

The patriotic sign of the "Highlander, Thistle and Crown" was used, presumably, to distinguish the shop of David Wishart, of late years removed from 41, Haymarket, to 25, Pantan Street. Fairholt says that the employment of the Highlander as a sign is traceable to Scottish events during the year 1745; but Wishart's old shop-bill, of which the writer possesses an example, bears the date 1720 beneath the Crown, Thistle and Highlander, so that if the shop-card was thus adorned, the Highlander probably figured at the same time as an exterior shop-sign. The Highlander is said to have had reference to Charles Edward Stuart, the younger Pretender, and at Wishart's house in Coventry Street the Jacobites are said to have secretly assembled in support of his claims. The shop, opened on the 31st December, 1720, the very day on which the Young Pretender was born, is believed to have been the first to place a figure of the Highlander at the door of a tobacco-shop in token of such houses having been affiliated to the Jacobite party. Wishart and Lloyd's establishment obtained additional fame by supplying both Lord Lytton and

¹ Pronounced "lutestrings." For promoting the manufacture of this, a shining glossy silk, invented by the French, a corporation was formed in the reign of William and Mary, as appears by 4 and 5 W. and M.



Richard Lee's Bill-head.

Engraved by Hogarth.

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the late Poet Laureate, Lord Tennyson, with smoking requisites.¹

On the evening of Thursday, June 9, 1803, at 5 o'clock, a most singular phenomenon took place in Panton-street, Haymarket. The inhabitants were alarmed by a violent and a tremendous hail and shower storm, which extended only to Oxendon-street, Whitcombe-street, Coventry-street, and the Haymarket, that is to say over a space not more than about 200 acres. The torrent was so great that it could only be likened to a wonderful cascade from the brow of the most tremendous precipice for seven minutes, so that the cellars of all the inhabitants in Panton Street and Oxendon Street were filled with water. And in the midst of this hurricane, an electric cloud descended in the middle of the street, fell in the centre of the coach-way and sunk to a great depth, without leaving a vestige or any particle of matter, but instead, forming a complete pit. The smell of the brimstone, for some considerable seconds was so strong, that the inhabitants expected every minute to be suffocated. A Mr. Madden, who kept a public-house near the spot, had water and beer butts thrown flat from the stillions, and no other damage done.²

This is to give Notice, That the Feast of the Natives and Inhabitants of the Parish of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, will be kept in the Tennis Court in Panton-Buildings in the said Parish on Thursday, the 14th day of October, His Majesty's Birth-day; and that Tickets may be had for the said Feast at Mr. James Pawlett's at the Blue Posts in the Haymarket"; etc.³

There was a "Py'd Bull" tavern in Panton Street.⁴

William Hogarth engraved a "Midnight scene in the style of the Modern Conversation," as a shop-bill for Richard Lee at the Golden Tobacco Roll, in Panton Street, near Leicester Fields.

Tho^s Townshend, Chymist in Ordinary to his Majesty, at the King's Arms and Golden Head near Panton Street in the Haymarket, Makes and Sells all manner of Chymical and Galenical Medicines.⁵

This advertisement seems to relate to a chemist's which is probably identical with an earlier chemist whose still more

¹ Mr. E. L. Blanchard in *The Glasgow News*, Dec. 18, 1880.

² *Gentleman's Magazine*, June, 1803, p. 587.

³ *London Gazette*, Sept. 30, 1686.

⁴ *Ibid.*, July 29 and Aug. 9, 1686.

⁵ Elaborately engraved shop-bill in the Guildhall Library.

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elaborate shop-bill, apparently the work of Hogarth, relates to Richard Siddall at the Golden Head only, in Panton Street.¹

Thomas Dermody, the Irish poet, who died at the early age of twenty-seven, in 1802, lived at No. 30, Oxendon Street.²

Cunningham, in his *Modern London*, has inserted on the clue map to the Haymarket the notice of Addison having written his *Campaign* in a garret in Panton Street. Taking this for its authority *The Builder* thinks that the house was very possibly one of those that were demolished about 1880, to make way for the Alexandra Theatre in Panton Street.³

[To be continued.]

THE LONG FERRY AND ITS FOUNDATION.

By ALEX. J. PHILIP.

DOMESDAY Book was not compiled until twenty years after the coming of William the Conqueror, but it describes to some extent the condition of the country at the end of the Saxon and Danish period. A translation of the Gravesend entry reads as follows:

Herbert son of Ivo holds Gravesham of the Bishop [of Bayeux]. It answers for two sulings and one yoke. There is land for four ploughs. In demesne there is one [plough], and four villans, with eight slaves, have two oxen.⁴ There is a church and one hythe. In the time of King Edward it was worth £10; when he received it, as much; now, £11. This manor was three manors; in the time of King Edward, Leuric, and Aluuin, and Goduin held [them]. Now it is in one.

Milton, now one of the two parishes forming the modern borough, is thus described:

Ralph son of Tuold holds Meletune of the Bishop [of Bayeux]. It answers for one suling and three yokes. There is land for four ploughs. In demesne there is one [plough], and 21 villans, with two bordars, have two ploughs. There is a

¹ Newspaper cuttings, uncatalogued, City Library, vol. xi.

² Wheatley's *Cunningham*. ³ *The Builder*, July 2, 1881.

⁴ That is, a quarter of a plough-team of 8 oxen.



A View of Gravesend.

Printed for Carington Bowles, next the Chapter House in St. Paul's Churchyard, London.
(From an old coloured print in the Gravesend Public Library.)



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church, and one mill of 49*d.*, and a hythe of 20*s.* and three slaves. In the time of King Edward, it was worth £4; and afterwards, £3; now £6. What Richard holds, in his lowy, five shillings in one wood. Earl Leuuin held it.

Denton, next Milton, is described as being held by the Bishop of Rochester.

The same Bishop holds Danitone. It answered for two sulings in the time of King Edward, and now for half a suling. There is land for two ploughs. In demesne there is one [plough], and 6 villans have there one plough. There is a church, and 4 slaves, and 4 acres of meadow. Wood for 15 hogs. In the time of King Edward, and afterwards it was worth 100*s.*, and now £7 15*s.*

Northfleet was in the possession of the Archbishop of Canterbury:

The same Archbishop holds Norfluet in demesne. It answered for 6 sulings in the time of King Edward, and now for 5. There is land for 14 ploughs. In demesne there are two [ploughs], and 36 villans have 10 ploughs. There is a church, and 7 slaves, and one mill of 10*s.*, with one fishery, and 20 acres of meadow. Wood for 20 hogs. In the whole value, in the time of King Edward it was worth £10; when he received it, £12; and now, £27. And yet it renders £37 10*s.*

What Richard de Tonebrige holds of this Manor, in his lowy, is worth 30*s.*

Southfleet and Higham, the only other places intimately wrapped up in Gravesend's history, must also be described as they appeared at that time in order to complete the picture of the district described as Roman Gravesend, although later on the boundary must be, to some extent at least, curtailed.

The Bishop of Rochester holds Sudfleta [Southfleet]. It answered for 6 sulings. There is land for 13 ploughs. In demesne, there is one plough, and 25 villans, with 9 bordars, having 12 ploughs. There are 7 slaves, and 20 acres of meadow. Wood for 10 hogs. Now, it answers for five sulings. There is a church. In the time of King Edward, and afterwards, it was worth £11; now, £21. And yet, it renders £24, and one ounce of gold.

Of this Manor, there is in Tonebrige, as much of wood and of land as is appraised at 20*s.*

The same Adam holds Hecham [Higham] of the Bishop [of Bayeux]. It answers for 5 sulings. There is land for 12 ploughs. In demesne, there are 3 ploughs, and 24 villans, with 12 bordars, have 6 ploughs and a half. There are 20 slaves;

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and 30 acres of meadow. There is a church, and one mill of 10s., and a fishery of 3s. And, in Exesse, pasture for 200 sheep. In the time of King Edward, it was worth £12; and afterwards, £6; now, £15.

In the time of King Edward, Godouin son of Carle and Toli, held this land, for two manors.

Whatever may have happened in the early years of the invasions of the Jutes, of the Angles and the Saxons, and later of the Danes, to reduce the importance of Gravesend and its surroundings, or to destroy it, there is no room for doubt that in the eleventh century it was flourishing and the centre of a prosperous district and comparatively well populated. The Church has its foot in each of the places, and each place has its own church. Most of the terms in the Domesday returns are intelligible, but it may be explained that a suling is the land that could be tilled yearly by one plough.

Some doubt has been expressed regarding the mill at Milton; but it appears to be generally agreed that it was worked by water, and was not the forerunner of the mills that crowned the top of Windmill Hill for so many years in the later centuries.

The history of Gravesend from this time is practically unbroken, though the material is somewhat scanty in its details for the next three centuries. Nevertheless, there is sufficient data to guide the student in his reconstruction of the town in the different phases of its history. As might be anticipated, it is largely ecclesiastical in tone.

Cruden discusses at some length the hythe at Milton mentioned in Domesday Book. And there is little doubt that in the main his conclusions are correct, viz., that the hythe or landing-place at Milton was the forerunner of the existing town landing-stage beneath the pier. The parishes of Gravesend and Milton join at Windmill Street, and it is probable that the landing, being a little to the east of an imaginary line down the street, was within the Milton boundary. At all events, the Milton hythe was of much greater importance than that of Gravesend, as shown by the three *servi* or slaves attached to it.

At an early date the town gave its name to a family, which in the reign of Edward III had possessions here; in the reign of Edward I some of them are owners of Notsted [Nursted?], and accompanied the king in his war against Scotland. Richard de Gravesend was Archdeacon of Northampton, and

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in 1280 Bishop of London. Stephen de Gravesend, his heir, was also Bishop of London in his turn. That the family was an important one is shown by the extent of their possessions in various parts of Kent and Essex. Sir Thomas de Gravesend is given as the heir of Stephen, and after that the family disappears from prominence, though the name occurs in a document of the reign of Richard II.

The manors of Gravesend and Milton have so far engaged our attention, but within these was the manor of Parrock. In 1261 Henry III granted free warren, a yearly fair, and a weekly market, to Robert de la Parrok, with the usual proviso, unless such markets and fair shall be to the prejudice of the neighbouring markets and fairs. Cruden supposes from his armorial bearings that this Robert de la Parrok was one of a branch of the noble family of Sey of Birlinge.

From records of illegal practices it is obvious that a trade of some considerable extent was carried on in the town, besides the water-carrying to Essex and London. It was a hundred years later, however, before this water traffic was secured to the town. Cruden traces the long ferry direct to the hythe at Milton in Domesday Book, and supposes that the water traffic with London was in a flourishing state before the Norman Conquest. He gives at the same time a picture of a boat of the period, which he surmises was that in use.

To discover the cause of the royal grant that secured the right of the Long Ferry to the townsmen in 1401, we must look to the invasion of the Thames in 1379 by the French [and Spanish], while Lord Neville was invading France; they harried and burned the town, and carried away many of the inhabitants prisoners. This reduced those who were left to sore straits for making a living, so much so that the Abbat of St. Mary Graces, at Tower Hill, London, who, Seymour says, was lord of the manor of Parrock, prevailed upon Henry IV to grant the royal charter. Lambarde appears to say that there was an earlier grant made by King Richard II.

The king to all whom it may concern . . . know ye that we are informed that, from time whereof the memory of man is not to the contrary, the Men of the Town of Gravesend who in their times have successively inhabited the Town aforesaid have been accustomed and were used without any interruption freely, quietly and peaceably, to carry in their own vessels whatsoever persons coming to the Town aforesaid and willing to go thence by water to our City of London: until

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now lately certain persons . . . have come from our said City of London with their vessels to the said town of Gravesend, and there have shipped persons willing to go to our City aforesaid by water, and have converted the money therefrom received to their own use, contrary to the will of the inhabitants in the said Town of Gravesend . . .

The charge for each passenger at this time appears to have been 2*d.*, which covered the carriage of his baggage or pack and his "fardel" also. The total fares of the boat reached 4*s.*

The Long Ferry during these early years was not so free from danger as it is now. There was still the fear of war and invasion, the river was infested with robbers and pirates, adverse winds had to be contended with. On the other hand, the journey was much more pleasant, between green and wooded banks, through clear water with abundance of fish, from the lordly salmon to the "sprot." In the winter of 1434-5 the discomforts were increased by an abnormal frost, and from Christmas to February 10, all traffic to London was diverted to the road.

The royal grant of the Long Ferry was confirmed by Henry V and Henry VI, and Edward IV also confirmed the grant for "the good . . . service which our dear lieges, the inhabitants of Gravesend, have done for us," showing that they had successfully trimmed their sails during those troublous and factious times.

We are able to glean a good deal of information regarding the Long Ferry in this reign from the expenses of Sir John Howard, who, in January, 1466-7, met the ambassadors of the Bastard of Burgundy (Count de la Roche) at Gravesend. The Duke of Burgundy and Lord Scales had agreed to a feat of arms in London, and the Garter King of Arms came down the river to meet the Burgundians, who were travelling under a safe conduct.

The entries by Sir John's steward are as follows :

Item, the ij of Janevere, my mastyr paid the mastyr of the King's barge, for bryngenge my mastyr to Gravesende, and ageyn to London with the ambasetors, xxx*s.*

Item the same day my mastyr paid to Gartar, fore heryng of a barge to London with the embasators staffe, vi*s.*

Item the same day my mastyr paid for Coles, viij*d.*

Item the same day my mastyr paid to Mastyr William Atclyffe, that he laid [out] at Gravesende for the bargemen's mete, vs.

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The Duke of Burgundy himself arrived on May 29, with a gay company, accommodated in four ships which cast anchor off the town, he and his four hundred knights and their squires. On the return journey Sir John Howard paid "for ij sheppe at Gravesende, for to have into the shippe, iiij s."

Further interesting details regarding the river traffic may be gleaned from the same accounts:

Paid to a bark, for bryngyng downe of vj pipes floure, ix pipes beere, iiij pipes fleshe, xiiij fishe, to Gravesend, vs.

To yonge Spense and his felishipe, for having [taken] doune x pipes bere fro Redclif to Gravesend, vs.

Paid to a man at Gravesend that brought the bred aboard *The John*, ijs.

Paid to a man at Gravesend that shall brynge uppe tymber to Redclif, xvjd.

Paid for barge-hyre of iij of your men frome Gravesende to Blakwalle, vjd.

From the Privy Purse expenses of Elizabeth of York, consort of Henry VII, we learn more about the charges. It must be remembered, however, that these were no doubt "royal" charges, or at least something more than would be charged the commonalty, most of whom would be content to be passengers in a general boat.

To James Nattres for his costes going into Kent for Doctour Hallysworth, phisicon, to come to the Quene by the Kinges commaundement, Furst for his bote hyre from the Towre to Gravysende, iijs. iiijd.

To two watermen abiding at Gravysende unto such time as the said James come again, for their expenses, viij d.

For horse hyre and to guides by night and day, ijs. iiij d.

And for his owne expenses, xvjd.

On the occasion of Wolsey travelling as ambassador from Henry VII to the Emperor Maximilian in 1500, we learn that "with a prosperous tyde and wynde . . . with such happy speede, he arrived at Gravesend within little more than three houres." Wolsey, in fact, made such "happy speede" on his journey, both going and returning, as to lay the foundations of his future greatness.

One of the earliest courts of the Conservancy meeting at Gravesend of which we have any record was held before the Lord Mayor of London in 1421. The duties of the Conservancy then were much the same as they are now, and the inquiry was held to ascertain "whether any persons had

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erected weirs, kiddels or engines, or had knocked any posts, piles, or stakes, within the river, which might in any sort hinder the stream or the navigation, or passage of ships, barges, boats, or vessels within the same; and whether any person had cast any soil, rubbish or other filth into the river." The jury was charged also to inquire concerning all "encroachments upon the river and the banks thereof, and of all bridges, floodgates, mill-dams, and such annoyances, erected upon or near the banks, and whether any fishermen had been found fishing during prohibited seasons." These prohibited seasons, no doubt, referred to the close time for salmon; more than forty years before an Act was passed by Parliament prohibiting the catching of salmon in the "kipper time" (that is, from the Invention of the Holy Cross, May 3, to the Epiphany, January 6), between Gravesend and Henley.

As early as 1293 it is recorded that the watermen at the Milton hythe were fined for overcharging their passengers. The fare from Gravesend to London was, at that time, a half-penny; but these watermen who were fined had endeavoured to turn it into a not very honest penny.

We have already seen that by 1515 the legal fare had increased to 2*d.* for each passenger. This was the result of an Act (6 Henry VIII, c. 7) regulating the fares not only between Gravesend and London, but intermediate places also. The following are the more important points:

Whereas by the laudable custome and usage within this realme of England, tyme out of mynde used, that every of the Kynge's subjectes and all other persons passynge by the river of Thames or Midway, and repaying to the same by water in barge or wherybote, that is to saye, from London to Gravesende, and from Gravesende to London, one person or more, to have a barge of the owners or occupiers of the same to passe themselves with their males, or fardelles between the said places, for the summe of iiij*s.*, or els every person passyng in the said barge, to pay for him selfe, or for him selfe, his male, or fardell ij*d.*, so that the same somme of ij*d.* of every person amounte to the somme of iii*s.* And a wherybote betweene the sayde places, for the summe of i*s.* hath been compelled to passe forth at every tide, between the said places.

This fare of twopence appears to have remained legally recognized until 1737, when it was raised to sixpence. After this the boatmen decked their vessels, and for this additional

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comfort custom raised the fare to ninepence, except for soldiers, who continued to travel at the former fare of sixpence. Apparently still without any legal right, the boatmen increased the fare to 1s. in 1790. Pocock naively states that the passengers gave it voluntarily; but as the accommodation given was better, the additional 3d., although illegal, was justified. During these years, however, the size of the boats had increased as much as the fare, until at the end of the eighteenth century the number carried was sometimes as many as 100 in one boat: "and on an average 300 persons pass and repass this easy and safe ferry every day . . . they go every flood and return every ebb upon the ringing of a bell, and the passage is often made in three or four hours as the wind and tide happen to suit."

Perhaps one of the most useful works Pocock did in his *History* was to make accessible the Charter of Incorporation of the town, which he transcribes "from a copy, translated and examined . . . the 20th of December, 1762, by Henry Care, of Symonds Inn, London, Attorney, and William Hunt." At present, however, sections 26 and 27, the two relating to the ferry, are all that need be given:

(26) And seeing that the Passage and Ferry upon the River of Thames by the aforesaid Villages and Parishes of Gravesend and Milton even to our City of London, and the Liberties and Profits of that Passage and Ferry for the space of divers Years now already past, have been enjoyed by the Foreman [Mayor], Jurats, and Inhabitants of the Villages and Parishes aforesaid, nevertheless divers Strifes, Quarrels, Discords and Controversies about the Passage and Ferry aforesaid daily arise, to the disturbance and grievance of our subjects: therefore we are willing that the aforesaid Controversies, Discords and Contentions hereafter may be taken away and removed, and that the aforesaid Mayor, Jurats and Inhabitants of the Villages and Parishes of Gravesend and Milton aforesaid, and their Successors, hereafter and for ever shall have and enjoy the Government of the Passage or Ferry aforesaid, quietly and peaceably with the Profits, Immunities and Liberties thence arising: and we do further out of our gracious favour . . . grant to the aforesaid . . . the whole Passage or Ferry . . . and the only liberty of that Passage or Ferry, to the carrying, transporting, and transferring all and all manner of Persons, Fardels, Burthens, Merchandizes and other things whatsoever upon the said water and River of Thames aforesaid, to any place and places, between the

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Villages and Parishes aforesaid, and the City aforesaid . . . to be holden of us . . . in Fealty only, freely and in common Socage and not *in Capite*, or *per servitum militare*, paying for it yearly to us . . . six shillings and eight pence of good and lawful money of England . . . to be paid yearly at the Feast of All Saints . . .

Section 27 gives the Mayor, Jurats, etc.,

power and authority to erect, constitute, ordain, make, and establish from time to time, such reasonable Laws, Institutions, Rights, Ordinances and Constitutions . . . as shall seem safe, good, profitable, honest, convenient, and necessary . . . for the good government and gubernation of all . . . the Mariners, Rowers, Officers, and Ministers of the said Passage or Ferry . . . as also of all . . . Artificers who are occupied . . . in the making of sails, oars, or any other necessary ornaments or utensils for the Barges, Boats or any other necessary vessels . . . and also for the possessors of the aforesaid Barges, Boats, Oars and Vessels . . . how and in what time they shall have and take their turns one after another, according to the course and turn of the tides.

The powers given under the remainder of this section were wide and absolute.

The river passage for many centuries was at least as dangerous as the road, because not only were there the professional river thieves, pirates, and "extortioners," but the boatmen themselves were not always above enriching themselves by actual murder, by terrorizing their fares, and by ostensibly accidental drowning.

Many serious accidents are recorded in the various Chronicles, some caused by storms, others by capsizing or collision. The boats appear to have been systematically overcrowded, and in 1737 an Act was passed limiting the number of passengers to 40. This Act, however, was not altogether successful, as less than ten years after it was passed a tilt-boat was lost with 50 passengers, of whom only one man was rescued.

To return, however, to the efforts being made to remedy some of the more crying evils of the river traffic, of which the revision of the fares was only one.

Nefarious practices were not confined to the watermen of Gravesend, but were found also among those of London, who increased in numbers enormously well into the 17th century; and to deal with the whole matter a court was established in 1555.

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The picture of Gravesend as it appeared in its riverside aspect is an intensely interesting one. At all times it has been a busy one, increasing in activity as the trade and size and influence of London increased, until in the 18th century it reached the zenith of its riparian prosperity—comparatively speaking. During the last century it shone forth in glorious splendour as a seaside resort, and it is now rapidly becoming a residential suburb. It is doubtful if it will ever again see such times as those in the 17th and 18th centuries, when ocean-going boats “in” and “out” stopped, and perhaps anchored, off the town; when merchandise came down the river to be met by wagons and passengers by coaches for distribution over all the county, to Canterbury, and Folkestone, and even west, to the county of Sussex; when passengers and late goods came post from London to catch the outward bound packet that had slipped down the river on the tide the night before; all together making the little town the scene of as moving and busy a throng as it was possible to find.

The boats themselves had undergone great changes during the seven centuries or so that passed between Domesday Book and this period of prosperity. Information as to the river craft of the 11th century is almost non-existent, although there is a considerable body of data relating to the war vessels and sea-going craft.

The early boats of the Thames, that is, the boats in use up to the 16th century, are believed to have been called barges, and to have been similar in design and size to those vessels used in the shorter but more important ferry between Kent and the Continent. If this is correct—and there is no evidence to the contrary—the barge would be a rather large type of ship, probably more like one of those tar-covered coasters that one sees loading in every port—in hull, that is, but with a square sail. This class of ship dates from the beginning of the 14th century, and is one of the earliest types to carry the rudder at the stern; previously the steering had been done by an oar at the side.

The barge was followed by the “tilt-boat,” which has been thus described:—“before the mast sat five rowers, open and exposed to the weather, and from the mast to the steersman in the stern were bales covered with a tilt, and open at the sides; under the tilt or slight deck sat the passengers, who were accommodated every tide with clean straw laid in the bottom of the boat, upon which was a large rug or blanket to

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cover themselves in cold or bad weather." Wherries and "light horsemen" were also in use. What the Gravesend light horseman was it is impossible to say, although it is supposed to have been akin to the modern "gig." Wherry may have been simply the name applied to a class of boat allied to the barge of the time. The tilt-boat, much enlarged and improved, held its sway until the 19th century; Pocock tells us that in his time a quarter share in one was considered adequate for the maintenance of a frugal family.

Stringent bye-laws were passed governing the conduct of the masters of the wherries, tilt-boats, and light-horsemen, from which it appears that a tilt-boat in 1701 was capable of carrying forty passengers and a wherry ten. Thirty years later the size of the two classes would seem to have been fifteen tons for tilt-boats, and three tons for wherries. Besides the bye-laws just referred to, there was a court, *Curia cursus aquae*, for the regulation of the river traffic, under the jurisdiction of the Duke of Richmond and Lennox.

I have endeavoured briefly to sketch the development of Gravesend's staple industry or employment and one of the most important home features of the early port of London. At the same time I have tried to depict the changes in the river scenes, from the time when the three *servi* seem to have formed the staff of the Long Ferry from Milton pier or hythe, to the eighteenth century, when there were numerous boats carrying 40 passengers each, their goings and comings carefully regulated and watched by responsible officers. The signal for their starting was the ringing of a bell, and the penalty for neglect was a fine of 40s., half of which was paid by way of reward to the informer.

The picture would be incomplete without some account of Gravesend's relationship to the Navy and the mercantile marine, but this must form another chapter of the town's history.



Rettendon Church.

Photographs by C. W. Forbes



NOTES ON THE EARLY CHURCHES OF SOUTH ESSEX.

BY C. W. FORBES, Member of the Essex Archaeological Society.

[Continued from vol. xiii, p. 301.]

RETTENDON.

RETTENDON, or Ratendune, as it is spelt in old records is a village some three miles to the north-west of Wickford. The chief manor is said to have been the property of the nuns at Ely as far back as the year 673, and we have documentary evidence of it being their property in the time of Edward the Confessor. When the bishopric was founded in 1108, this estate became part of the endowment of the See, and continued as such until alienated by Henry VIII. The patronage of the church, however, continued in the hands of the Bishops of Ely, with the exception of two or three intervals between 1541 and 1662, until the beginning of the eighteenth century; it is now in the hands of the Lord Chancellor.

It is thought that, as the Bishops of Ely possessed a large amount of land in this parish, they had a residence here, that the church was built by them, and that they were chiefly responsible for the later additions of the fourteenth and fifteenth century.

The site of the church is very elevated, and its lofty tower a conspicuous object for many miles round. The church, built principally of Kentish ragstone, probably dates from the end of the twelfth century, and originally consisted of a nave and chancel only; there is no trace of an earlier structure. The church, as we see it at present, has a nave, chancel, north aisle, a fine embattled tower with small turret at the west end of the nave, containing five bells, and the remains of an old timber porch over the south door. Built on to the north wall of the chancel is a parvise or priest's house of two stories, the lower one now being used as a vestry.

It is assumed that the original building, as stated, was a small church with nave and chancel only, and that about the end of the fourteenth century the north wall of the nave was taken down and the aisle added. Between this aisle and the

THE EARLY CHURCHES OF SOUTH ESSEX.

nave are four arches supported by three octagonal incurved pillars, similar to those at Barling, described in a previous article [vol. xii, p. 55]. The priest's house attached to the chancel was erected some fifty years later; a fine perpendicular square-headed doorway, with spandrels, was cut in the chancel wall to form an entrance into it. In the lower room is a spiral stone staircase, now much dilapidated, to give access to the upper floor, which can also be reached by another flight of stone steps from the exterior; a fireplace has been built in each room.

In the south wall of the upper room an opening has been made through which a view of the altar can be obtained; this room has two windows, one on north and one on east side, the lower room has a window on the east side only.

As the church for many years belonged to the Bishopric of Ely it is probable that the various priests who served this church lived here, at any rate at certain periods. A similar priest's house, erected about the same period, is attached to the west end of the church at Great Wakering, which belonged to Beeleigh Abbey [vol. xii, p. 302].

These extremely interesting priest's houses attached to certain churches formerly belonging to religious houses or bishoprics prove, I think, that at times the priests sent to serve there certainly lived in them while they were so serving; the fireplaces seem conclusive evidence that the houses were intended to be lived in. There is another one at Laindon, which will be described later.

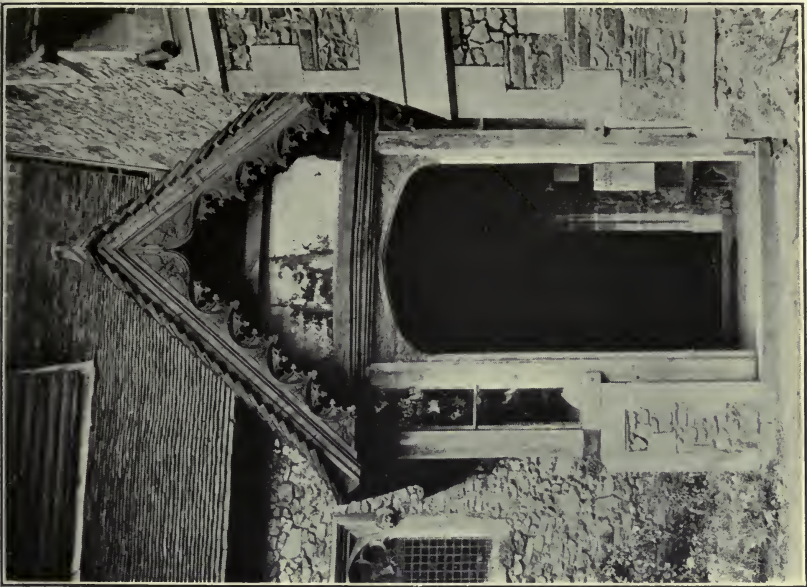
The massive stone tower has walls nearly five feet thick at the base and massive buttresses at each corner, set at an angle; from the appearance of the windows, etc., it was probably erected about the middle of the fifteenth century, at the same time as the priest's house.

Considerable alterations appear to have been made to the windows at this period, and again about the end of the eighteenth century. Apparently no windows are now left of the original Early English period. The earliest remaining is a three-light Decorated window in the north aisle, which I think is evidence that the aisle could not have been added later than the end of the fourteenth century. On each side of this is a two-light square-headed Perpendicular window, and there is another of similar design at the west end, over which was another, now blocked up.

In the nave, beginning from the west end, we have a three-



Laindon Church.



South Porch, Laindon.

Photographs by C. W. Forbes.



THE EARLY CHURCHES OF SOUTH ESSEX.

light and a two-light perpendicular window, and further on another three-light one, with eighteenth century wood frame work; continuing into the chancel is a similar modern window of three lights; the east window has been modernized on similar lines; traces, however, of an original early English window can be seen on examination.

There are three doorways, north, south, and west; the north doorway and the priest's doorway in the chancel are bricked up; the west door leading into the tower is closed. The south doorway is now the only entrance into the church; it is original Early English work of the twelfth century.

The east wall of the chancel and the south wall of the nave are portions of the original structure; the south wall, owing to a subsidence, or faulty workmanship, is slightly out of the perpendicular, and is now supported by four massive brick buttresses. It has also been patched with brickwork, and from the appearance of this I should say that it was done at the same time as some of the windows were altered, somewhat near the end of the eighteenth century.

In the chancel is a beautiful piscina and double-seated sedilia. The piscina has a trefoil head with the early English dog-tooth ornament. The sedilia have plain trefoil arches. On the south side of the chancel is an aumbry, over which is the remains of a large window now completely cemented up.

Fitted into the sides of the present choir stalls are some finely carved panels which doubtless formed portions of the original rood screen. There are also some very fine old bench ends with beautifully carved heraldic designs; they are very curious, amongst them being a monkey, a bear with a staff, an eagle and child in a cradle, etc. Whether they belonged originally to this church it is difficult to say, as the families which they represent, such as the Nevilles, Beauchamps, Stanleys, etc., do not appear to have possessed any land in this parish.

The font is a plain octagonal, probably the original of the twelfth century.

At the east end of the aisle is a large handsome marble monument to Edmund Humfrey Batchelor, who died in 1727. There is also in the aisle a mutilated brass to a civilian and his three wives still affixed to the original slab. The inscription is lost, but by the dresses, etc., it is put down as being *circa* 1535. A brass effigy of Richard Humfrey and his three sons, dated 1607. There are also in the church other minor monuments and slabs.

THE EARLY CHURCHES OF SOUTH ESSEX.

The list of rectors dated from 1333; the Register begins in 1678.

LAINDON.

Laindon, spelt in early records Layndon, or Langdon, is a parish some eight miles to the south-east of Brentwood; so far as is known it has always, for ecclesiastical purposes, been joined with Basildon.

The church is situated some distance from the village, about a mile to the north of the railway station, on the London, Tilbury, and Southend line. The edifice was evidently built about the end of the twelfth century; portions of the outer walls and the buttresses at the east end of the chancel belong to this period. In the north wall of the nave can be seen the remains of a blocked up Early English window, and the font also belongs to this period. The church appears to have been largely rebuilt in the fifteenth century, the windows and the rest of the building being in the Perpendicular style.

The present building consists of a chancel and nave, with south aisle, south porch, and western tower, with an oak shingled spire; attached to the west end of the nave is a timber priest's house of two stories.

In the belfry are five bells, two of which are dated 1588 and 1619 respectively.

At the west end of the nave is built up a massive timber structure, consisting of five arches joined together by cross-bracing, with a platform at the top, about the height of the nave walls, on which are constructed the belfry and spire. It is a very fine specimen of work of this nature, and worthy of study by all who are interested in mediaeval church wood-work. There are similar timber structures in many of the smaller Essex churches, but in some cases they are erected outside and attached to the west end of the nave; they nearly all date from about the middle of the fifteenth century.

The most interesting feature of Laindon Church, however, is the priest's house, built close up to the west end of the nave, the stone wall having been partly taken down for this purpose. It is constructed entirely of wood. There are two stories, while under the gabled roof is a small attic which leads into the belfry. The first floor has an opening in the east wall looking into the church, having wooden shutters or panels. A short flight of stairs in the lower room on the north side leads to the upper floor; the original entrance into the

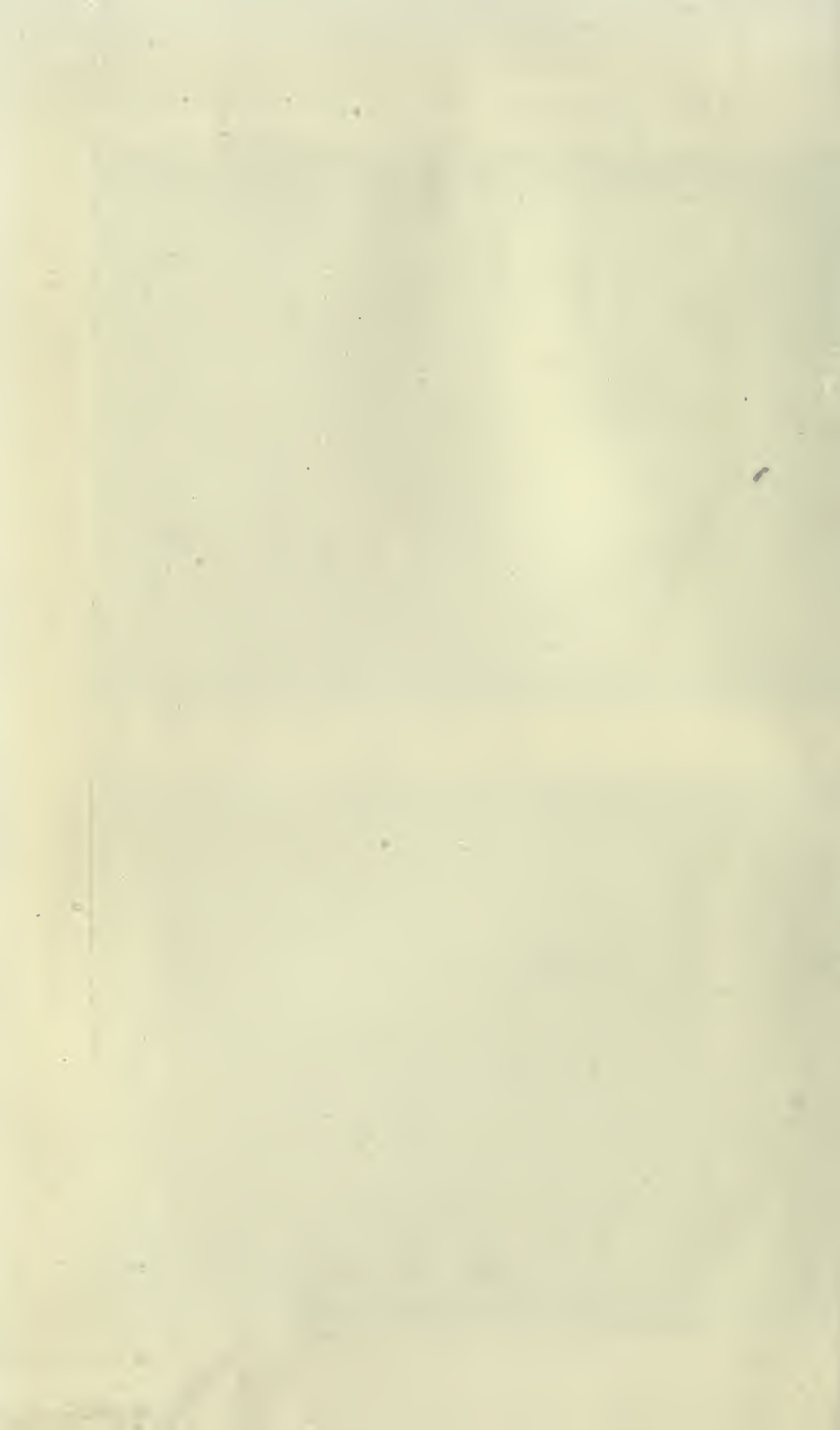


Priest's House, Laindon.



The Font, Laindon.

Photographs by C. W. Forbes



THE EARLY CHURCHES OF SOUTH ESSEX.

house is by means of a wooden door on the south side. The lower room now forms the vestry; in it can be seen the old altar table. After the dissolution of the monasteries, this priest's house appears to have been used as the village school, and it continued as such until a few years back.

At the west end of the nave are two old panels with inscriptions giving particulars of two charities. One of these is of special interest as it has reference to the village school.

It reads as follows:

Soli Deo Gloria

John Puckle of this parish by his last will dated the 6th May, 1617, Gave all his Copyhold lands to the maintenance of a school master, for teaching a competent number of poor children of Basseldon or Layndon; The Salary to be paid half yearly by the trustees, viz., Five pounds upon the feast of the Annunciation, and five pounds upon the feast of St. Michael. This charity is to be commemorated yearly upon the feast of St. John, upon which day the pious Founder of happy memory, hath appointed an annuall sermon and the fee of a mark to the preacher.

The property now produces about £65 yearly, and the fund is still used for educational purposes. The sermon also is still preached by the Rector on St. John's day, and the stated fee paid by the trustees.

The other panel is somewhat obliterated; it refers to certain lands at Fobbing, left in 1703 for charitable purposes.

In the south wall of the aisle is a piscina, and close to this is an arched opening with the remains of a tomb, believed to be that of the original founder of the church.

In the aisle was a chantry, founded in 1329, when Edward III granted licence to Thomas de Berdefield to give one messuage, 95 acres of arable, and 13s. 4d. rent in Layndon and Est Ley to a chaplain to celebrate mass for his soul for ever, at the altar of the Virgin Mary and St. Thomas the Martyr in the church at Layndon. In the book of chantries the yearly value was stated to be £8 11s. 8d.

The font is a square basin with plain arcading on each side, supported on a plain circular pillar with a smaller one at each angle.

The register dates from 1653; the following entry relates to the priest's house. "That side of the Church Yard House which is on the south side towards the King's highway was made new in the year 1732 at the charge of the parish."

THE EARLY CHURCHES OF SOUTH ESSEX.

On the floor of the chancel are two brasses, the inscriptions of which are lost; there are also the slabs of two others.

BASILDON

Basildon (Basledon or Barsyldon) is a chapelry in the parish of Laindon, about two miles east. The present church consists of a chancel, nave, south porch and western stone tower, containing three bells, two of which are dated 1672 and 1756 respectively. The greater portion of the nave, and the whole of the chancel with the exception of the roof were rebuilt in the early part of the eighteenth century; owing to the shrinking and cracking of the clayey soil further rebuilding of the east end of the chancel took place about ten years ago.

The timber porch on the south side, the stone tower, a few of the nave windows, and the roof of the chancel, are in the Perpendicular style, and date from the fifteenth century; the rest of the structure is modern work. There is no trace of any earlier building.

The font also is modern, and there are no monuments in the church of any interest.

[To be continued.]

SOME EAST KENT PARISH HISTORY.

BY PETER DE SANDWICH.

[Continued from vol. xiii, p. 316.]

SIBERTSWOLD

(Anciently in Sandwich Deanery)

· 1560

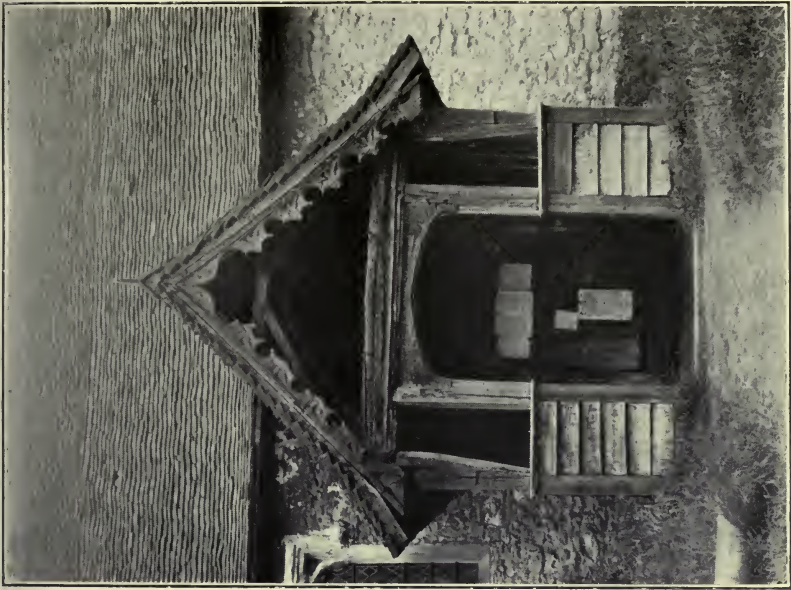
THAT the Vicar is parson of Barston [Barfreston], and there liveth.

These whose names do follow do withhold certain kine and ewes, being stock of the church, and for relieving of the poor:—Mrs. Moninge, Mrs. Portway, Thomas Giles, Stephen Wickham, . . . Andrew of Barham, John Bailye, late of Lydden.

John Deacon is an evil-man, and that he doth misuse himself very unseemly towards the Priest, telling him that he lied,



Basildon Church.



South Porch, Basildon.

Photographs by C. W. Forbes.



SOME EAST KENT PARISH HISTORY.

openly before all the people when he was in the pulpit.—
(Fol. 18; vol. 1560-84.)

1565. That the body of our church is very amiss, and also the steeple is in great decay.

The chancel where the Communion-table should stand is unpaved.

That we have no Paraphrase, the farmer of the rectory is the goodwife Stoddard, who ought to give half the money to the providing thereof.

1567. William Curle of Eastrey doth owe unto our church three ewes, and he hath had them to farm this sixteen years, and denieth both the stock and the farm.—(Vol. 1566-7.)

1569. (Archbishop Parker's Visitation.)

Rectory:—appropriator the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Vicarage:—in the patronage of the same.

Vicar:—Dom. Robert Bannister, who is married, resides there, and is hospitable as far as he is able. He has also the vicarage of Coldred in the same Deanery; not a preacher, nor licensed to preach; not a graduate.

Householders, 21.

Communicants, 83.—(Fol. 23.)

That they have not the Paraphrase of Erasmus, and that Mr. George Bingham of West Court about two years ago received of Master Edward Merywether and of the widow of Stannard, parishioners, the sum of 12s. or thereabouts, and promised to lay out the rest; and at his next going to London to buy us one, but they have neither book nor money.

That John Stodard's widow hath in occupying two acres of land called Wassell-land, out of the which there hath been paid two bushels of wheat yearly, to be made in wassall-bread and given to the poor, as there is divers now hath distributed the same, and it is with-holden, and they are examined before Master Denne of the payment thereof.

That our Vicar is Vicar of Coldred.—(Vol. 1569.)

1570. That we lack in our Church the Paraphrase; and the parish did give their money to Mr. George Bingham to buy us one withal, then being one of our parish, and we can neither get of him the Paraphrase nor our money; for if we

SOME EAST KENT PARISH HISTORY.

might have the one we were answered. Our Vicar, with other of our parish, have often required the same, but he delays us from day to day. Wherefore we crave your speedy aid and help therein.—(Vol. 1570-71.)

1574. The floor of the body of the church is to be repaired and amended, for it is in sore decay. The porch of the church is in great decay and unrepaired.—(Fol. 58; vol. 1574-76.)

1577. That we lack a cover for our Communion-cup, and the gate of the churchyard is broken.

1605. That part of the wall of the church is decayed and fallen down, and also the gate of the churchyard wanteth repairing and amending.

1606. We have a parchment book, but for the keeping of the book we have no such coffer, neither is it otherwise kept than by our Minister.

The last churchwarden would not buy the Book of Canons, and that our Minister did not read the same this year, because we have them not in the church.

The Communion-table is not kept in such manner, it is not covered in the time of Divine Service with any carpet of silk or other decent stuff or cloth at the time of administration; neither have we the Ten Commandments set up in the church; nor seat very convenient for our Minister.

We have a decent pulpit, well placed in our church, yet not seemly kept for the preaching of God's word.

We have no strong chest in the church for the alms of the poor.

Our church and chancel are well maintained with glazing, but not sufficiently repaired; the floors are not paved at all, nor possibly can be kept clean and seemly as becometh the house of God.

The churchyard lieth open to the highway, and so hath been left with the church a long time by the last churchwarden, the gates and walls not being sufficiently maintained, kept, and shut up.

We have no table of degrees of marriages forbidden.

No pulpit-cloth or cushion of silk, neither would the last churchwarden all his time buy any.—(Vol. 1602-9.)

1613. Abbias Pownall, William Neame, and Edward Gibbon,

SOME EAST KENT PARISH HISTORY.

with others of the parish, did take away or cause to be taken away out of the churchyard, four trees growing in the churchyard, and felled by the Vicar towards the reparation of his vicarage-house, which was so by them done since Christmas 1612.—(Fol. 53.)

That the steeple of the parish-church is very much out of repair and wanteth shingling.—(Fol. 77.)

1615. John Marsh, for not paying five several cesses towards the necessary repairs of our parish church and steeple, being lawfully cessed at such times 23s. 4d. towards the repairing of our church and steeple.—(Fol. 113.)

1617. All is well, saving that we want a sufficient chest with three locks and keys, and that our churchyard is not sufficiently repaired.—(Fol. 191.)

1618. John Marsh, for refusing to pay his cess towards the reparations of the parish church there, for 280 acres of land which he occupieth in the parish, being cessed at three farthings the acre.—(Fol. 207; vol. 1610-37.)

1629. Our churchyard lieth unfenced, but it shall be done so soon as possibly it may be.—(Fol. 156.)

1632. Thomas Philpot, gentleman, farmer of the parsonage of our parish, for not repairing the chancel of our parish-church, which is open on the top thereof for want of tiles, so that the pigeons do come in there and defile our seats, neither can our parishioners sit dry thereunder when it raineth.—(Fol. 181.)

1637. A Book of Homilies we have, but no Bible of the largest volume.—(Fol. 234; vol. 1610-37, Part ii.)

1679. The bells belonging to the parish church wanteth new hanging, and there is no font within the church. The churchwardens were to provide a font, and place it in the church between this and the next court day after Michaelmas, and then to appear and certify thereof, and also what had been done about the hanging of the bells.—(Fol. 22; vol. 1675-89.)

[To be continued.]

NOTES AND QUERIES.

UNPUBLISHED MSS. RELATING TO THE HOME COUNTIES IN THE COLLECTION OF P. C. RUSHEN.

1618, 16 Jas. I, 18 June.—Mortgage in fee by Sir Francis Goodwyn, knt., of Over Winchendon, Bucks, to Richard Archedale, Citizen and Draper of London, to secure £700, of a moiety of two closes of pasturage, at one time one close known as Common Leys of 120 acres, and a moiety of a meadow adjoining, known as Blackenhole, lying in Over Winchendon and Waddesdon, Bucks, then or then late in the occupation of Thomas Deane; Also the upper part next to Over Winchendon of a pasture, then lately divided, called Nashes Piece, which part extended from the then late planted hedge which divided it from the nether part, towards the mansion house of the said Goodwyn in Over Winchendon. Covenant by Goodwyn that the entirety of the lands mentioned were of the clear yearly value of £80. Repayment provided for £735 on 20 Dec. then next, at Archedale's house in the parish of St. Michael Paternoster in the Old Royal, London.

1655, Nov. 1.—Mortgage by demise for 500 years by Elizabeth Stevenson of Westerham, Kent, widow, and George Stevenson of Horne, Kent, currier, and Robert Stevenson of Westerham, currier, two of the sons of the said Elizabeth, to George Ashton of Horne, yeoman, to secure £80, of a messuage called Roops, wherein the said Elizabeth and Robert then dwelt, in Westerham, together with the barns, &c., closes and orchard belonging thereto, and a piece of land of 2 acres, adjoining upon the highway leading through Westerham town on the south, to Westerham church on the west, to lands late of Sir John Gresham, knt. on the north, and to lands then or late of Humphrey Styles, gent., on the east. Repayment provided for by 40s. every May 1 and Nov. 1, until May 1, 1662, and then £82 on Nov. 1, 1662.

THE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF LONDON.—All serious students are painfully aware of the enormous amount of time and labour literally wasted in searching for facts that ought to be easily accessible. Readers of the *Home Counties Magazine* will be pleased to learn that an attempt is now being made to minimize this wastage, so far as students of the history, archaeology and natural features of London are concerned, by the compilation of a bibliographical index to the literature of London. A few enthusiasts, under the presidency of Mr. K. H. Vickers and with Miss H. Hadley as honorary secretary, have commenced a card-index, which will be stored for the time being in the London County Hall, by kind permission of Sir Laurence Gomme. Each entry will be annotated in such a way as to convey the scope and mode of treatment of the matter indexed, periodicals, transactions of learned societies, etc., will be included, as well as books distinctively treating of London. The area covered will be conterminous with the London Postal Area, with the addition of Epping Forest, Richmond and Kew. The inclusion of these latter can be justified, as they are the happy hunting grounds of London naturalists, apart from their antiquarian interest. The scheme is fully outlined in *The Library* for January, 1912, where a list of the work undertaken is printed.—THOMAS WM. HUCK, *Saffron Walden*.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

LONDON HOUSES OF HISTORICAL INTEREST.—The London County Council have placed a lead tablet at 12, Seymour Street, Portman Square, to commemorate the residence of M. W. Balfe, the musical composer, who lived there from 1861 until 1864.

WALTON-ON-THE-HILL, SURREY.—In the little parish church of Walton-on-the-Hill are several objects which must have appealed to any stray antiquaries who may have found themselves among the concourse attracted to its breezy heath by the Golf Championship contests recently waged there. The most striking is the font, which Mr. J. E. Morris, in his capital handbook on the *Churches of Surrey*, has described as a "magnificent circular Norman font"—one of about thirty examples of leaden fonts in England. The basin is a cylinder about 13 in. high, soldered to a circular flat bottom about 20 in. in diameter. It was evidently cast as a flat strip, and then curled round to fit the bottom, for its ornamentation is divided into an arcade of nine arches, in two series of four slightly different designs; the ninth, repeating the fourth and fifth, is incomplete, the seated figure in it being cut through the middle by the vertical joint. After reading of its ascription to the Norman period I was puzzled to find that none of its ornamental features appeared to be peculiarly characteristic of that style, except the heads, which are round and very salient, with short-cropped full hair, eyes wide apart, and small mouths. The garb of the figures might be equally well described as Ecclesiastical or as pseudo-Classic. The semicircular arches (of two concentric narrow bands) are supported on pilasters, whose slender spiral shafts and foliated capitals do not suggest the architecture of the eleventh or twelfth centuries, while the enrichment of the spandrels and of the borders consists of such treatment of leaves and tendrils, spreading, coiling and uncoiling, in circular and ogee curves, as is familiar in the "Arabesque" decorations of the Renaissance period. Of "cable," "dog-tooth," "zig-zag," or other typically Norman moulding there is not a trace on font or base.

Just across the aisle from the font stands a Jacobean piece of carved oak furniture, a cabinet with a lectern top, on which rests a Bible attached to it by a long chain. Mr. Morris remarks that the cover of this book "is dated 1803, but that he will not vouch for the antiquity of the chaining!" The antiquity of the chain is, however, vouched for by the Rector of the parish, who permits me to make public his statement that it was given by his father, the late Mr. Greenhill, in 1803, having been given to him by the Dean of Salisbury, who had taken it, in his presence, at a time when such antiquities were less appreciated than they are now, from the cathedral crypt, where many old tomes were chained. The Bible which it now secures is modern. There are some fragments of fine old stained glass in the windows.—ETHEL LEGA-WEEKES.

REPLIES.

CANONBURY TOWER (vol. xiii, p. 308).—Mr. Thomas, in his article on Canonbury Tower, gives a copy of the curious inscription, including an illegible word with the initial letter F. It has been suggested that the complete letter was E, and the complete word EAMQ. The inscription would thus read:

WILL. CON. WILL. RUFUS. HEN. STEPHANUS. HENQ. SECUNDUS.
RI. JOHN. HEN. TERT. ED. TERNI. RIQ. SECUNDUS.
HEN. TRES. ED. BINI. RI. TERTIUS. SEPTIMUS. HENRY.
OCTAVUS. POST. HUNC. EDW. SEXT. REGINA. MARIA.
ELIZABETHA. SOROR. SUCCEDIT. EAMQ. JACOBUS.
SUBSEQUITUR. CHAROLUS. QUI. LONGO. TEMPORE. VIVAT!

—E. BASIL LUPTON, *Leeds*.

REVIEWS.

SURREY ARCHAEOLOGICAL COLLECTIONS, vol. 24; pp. 212.

Mr. R. A. Roberts completes the series of Inventories of Church Goods from the Loseley MSS., and adds certain miscellaneous documents dealing with the subject. Of these the most interesting is a petition from the parishioners of St. Nicholas, Guildford, to be allowed the amount of their expenditure on repairs and alterations to the church to defray which they had sold "serteyne plate as crosses and censors which were not to be used by reason of the godly alteration of our relygyon." They mention the "coman robberyng of churches" in the neighbourhood, and rather innocently state their belief that the inventories of goods were made "only as a restraynt that churche wardens and others the parishioners should not imbesell the same to ther private uses." Such thefts are alleged frequently at other places. At St. Martin's, Epsom, the vicar and clerk had "perloyned and embesylled" a silver chalice and paten; at Farley is a list of goods "stolin out of the church syns the tyme of makyng of the fyrst inventory"; at Ashstead several articles were "stollen out of the churche in the nyght tyme"; at Feltham the church was "broken in the nyght at towe sundrye tymes" and various goods stolen; and so on. Among the articles recorded in the inventories are many of considerable interest. At Farley we read of "a Lent cloth staynyd with blew payns of canvas and redde spottes" and "a sepulchre cloth of party rede and grene sylke," neither of which seem to fit in very well with the colour-schemes laid down by modern "authorities." The college at Lingfield was specially rich in plate, vestments and books; one cope of red velvet cloth of gold, embroidered with gold ostrich feathers, must have been particularly fine.¹

Now that the series of inventories is completed, we should like to suggest that an article dealing with them as a whole, with a full glossary, would form a very useful supplement.

Mr. Eric Gardner contributes an admirable article on the British Stronghold of St. George's Hill, Weybridge, and its relation to neighbouring earthworks and fords. No implements have been found on the site, and the use of the "British"

¹ In this list the word *yest*, which occurs several times, appears to be a misreading for *yft*, i.e., gift.

REVIEWS.

is therefore perhaps somewhat misleading. Numerous relics of the Bronze Age have been found in close proximity, including some exceptionally fine cinerary urns, plates of which are given, and weapons of ordinary types. We must protest against the use of the word "rapier," on Plate V, to describe a sword.

We hardly know what to make of Mr. P. M. Johnston's explanation of the heads on the south door at Wootton Church. These tiny carvings are said to represent a pope, a bishop, a king, a queen, a priest, a layman, a doctor and a peasant. Some of these are obvious enough, while others seem rather speculative. Mr. Johnston sees in them a record of the dispute between King John and Pope Innocent III; he argues his case with great ingenuity, which we do not find entirely convincing.

Messrs. Banister Fletcher and J. M. Hobson contribute a careful architectural study of the Archbishop's Palace at Croydon, well illustrated by photographs, plans and elevations. May we urge the editor of the *Collections* to set his face sternly against the "freak" letters which some architects to indulge in. If the lettering on these plans and drawings has been designed to make it difficult to read, the object has certainly been accomplished; if not so designed, it is simply idiotic.

Mr. Cecil Davis continues the transcript of the Wandsworth Churchwardens' Accounts, dealing with the period 1630 to 1640. There are many interesting entries; the church steeple was rebuilt; "pewes and pillars" were bought from the parish of Creechurch; one of the bells was re-cast; the pulpit was painted and gilded. The church bells were rung for the births of two children of Charles I, Mary (mother of William III) in 1631, and James (afterwards James II) in 1633. There is an interesting series of notes on the town armour; "a new armor and a new head peece for the other armor" were provided; "2 cosletts" are mentioned, and a payment was made to two men "that caried the church armes," showing that there were two sets, including body- and head-pieces; "two feathers for the towne armes" were probably to decorate the helmets. The stocks and whipping-post were repaired, and a ducking-stool was bought. The May-pole was dug up in 1639 or 1640.

Miss Stokes continues her valuable extracts from Surrey wills, the present instalment covering the year 1610. Richard Breame mentions his son's christening presents of bowls and spoons. There is an interesting use of the word "standards," in the sense of fixtures; "my joined cupboards and presses shall remain in my house as standards, there to continue from heir to heir." Saba and Venys are two unusual Christian names for girls, and students of surnames will note "Richard Sowter alias Salter." Robert Swayne, a Southwark surgeon, was much in advance of his time; he provided for the isolation of any of his children who should be taken ill, by their removal "into my little howse being in the backside of my dwelling howse, there to remayne untill it shall please God to recover them."

Mr. Frank Lasham writes with great energy on Eolithic Man in West Surrey, a thorny subject, not to be settled by a plethora of adjectives. Mr. Charles R. Baker King records some interesting features discovered in the tower of St. Mary's Church, Blechingley, and some needless destruction of ancient features against his strongly expressed wishes.

THE MIDDLESEX DISTRICT IN ROMAN TIMES, Part I, by Montagu Sharpe. Brentford Printing and Publishing Co.; pp. 20; 8*d.* net.

Mr. Sharpe's further instalment of *The Antiquities of Middlesex* contains sections on the Second Roman Invasion (A.D. 43), the Rise of London, the Government of the Catuvelaunian Territory, Boadicea's Insurrection and Defeat, Early Development of the *Civitas*, Roman Roads, Early Christianity, a Mint and a Public School, and the Prosperity of the *Civitas*. These are all treated in his usual careful way, with copious references to classical and other authorities. The most interesting, and perhaps the most valuable, of these sections is that dealing with the site of the great battle between Suetonius and Boadicea in A.D. 61.

REVIEWS.

This decisive and sanguinary action Mr. Sharpe places on Hampstead Heath. Other places have been suggested, such as Battle Bridge, near King's Cross Station, and the valley between Hampstead and Highgate, for it is certain that it was on the north of the City and not very far away. Mr. Sharpe's legal acumen enables him, by a minute analysis of the account given by Tacitus, to show that neither of these spots can be made to fit in with the text. The position was this. Boadicea raised the tribes in the districts known later as Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex, Suetonius being in Anglesea at the moment. Leaving his army to follow, he hastened to London with only a small force of cavalry. London was not then protected by a wall, and could not be held by the Roman forces on the spot; the General therefore retreated to the north-west and awaited reinforcements from North Wales and Verulamium. Boadicea, coming in from Essex, could not resist the temptation of sacking London, which for the moment was left defenceless; the delay was fatal, for, by the time she turned north again to give battle, Suetonius had nearly 10,000 men to meet her. Now it is clear that the Romans would choose a place near to the St. Alban's Road along which their reinforcements would come; it is clear also, from Tacitus, that the spot they selected for the coming fight was a wide sandy open space, intersected by narrow valleys on the south (the Roman front), and protected by woods on the north (the rear). The only place fulfilling these strategical and physical conditions is Hampstead Heath, and the description of the battle becomes terribly realistic to anyone familiar with the spot. The Roman cavalry and light-armed troops were posted at the wings to prevent any flanking movement, while the main body of heavy-armed foot took up their position along the higher ridges. The Britons charged up the narrow valleys, which still exist in many parts of the southern slopes, and were met with a hail of javelins at close quarters; in the confusion thus created the Romans charged *down hill*, with the result that nearly 80,000 Britons, both men and women, are said to have been slain. Mr. Sharpe's argument is both graphic and convincing, and he is to be congratulated on having added a new interest to Hampstead Heath. Curiously enough, he declines to accept the tradition that the well-known mound and ditch on Parliament Hill have anything to do with the grave of the ill-fated British Queen.

INDEX TO THE CONTENTS OF THE COLE MANUSCRIPTS in the British Museum, by George J. Gray, with a portrait of Cole. Cambridge: Bowes and Bowes; pp. 170; 15s. net.

The Rev. William Cole, F.S.A., who died in 1782, bequeathed his MS. collections to the British Museum; they are well known to all interested in town, county, University and colleges of Cambridge, as an invaluable storehouse of information. A list of the contents was printed in an Index to additional MSS., but nothing in the shape of a handy index volume has hitherto been published.

OUR HOMELAND CHURCHES and how to study them, by Sidney Heath. Homeland Association; pp. 198; 2s. 6d net.

In reprinting this Handbook it has been so re-modelled and re-written as to make it practically a new work. The result is an enormous improvement, and we have a really sound and useful general guide to ecclesiastical architecture and furniture. The tourist in England will find it a mine of information, which the well-arranged indexes will enable him to get at quite easily. The illustrations are well chosen and not confined to any particular district. Mr. Leathart's explanatory drawings are admirable, and add greatly to the value of the book. The chapter on "Church Restoration and Preservation" is excellent; we commend its careful study to all custodians of churches, and, if possible, before they turn loose the fashionable architect.



The Cold Harbour.

From a print in "London before the Great Fire."

Photograph by Donald Macbeth.

SOME COLD HARBOURS : and what has become of them. I: LONDON.

BY R. A. H. UNTHANK.

WHATEVER may be the balance in favour of adventurous wanderings, there are inconveniences which cannot always be reckoned as increasing excitement. Turn over the pages of Eastern excursionists, and you find yourself most commonly regaled with the record of how they passed the night warding off the attacks of legions of *cimex lectularius*, which routed the welcome thought of rest and made night hideous with their anything but dismal bites. Fortunately one is informed, perchance as their experience grows, how to avoid the desperate vermin, by carrying one's own night-gear—but a small encumbrance, we need not be reminded, in Eastern lands—with one, and putting up at one of the frequent *hans* to be found upon the road.

The *hans* (or *khans*) in their accommodation are extremely simple; they provide neither beds nor food, but merely a common shelter for the wayfarer and stabling for his horse. Of practically identical character the old-time "Cold Harbours" of this country, the leanest shadows of our cheerful inns, are adjudged to have been. It has been observed¹ that a great number of the cold harbours stood upon the ancient lines of road, and that most, if not quite all of them, occupied spots on or near to relinquished Roman settlements. To the Saxons it may have been that we owe these naked shelters, when in the vacant stations of their predecessors they found a ready means to implant a proved and useful institution of their own. Unfortunately the *kalte Herbergen* of Germany, which have a most suspicious appearance of being identical with the Cold Harbours here, have slipped as completely out of the Teutonic mind, or analogy might have helped us in tracing out their history. *Herbergen* were simply medieval inns.

If, however, as some suggest, cold harbour is a "popular"

¹ Canon Isaac Taylor, *Words and Places*.

COLD HARBOUR, LONDON.

abbreviation of the Latin *col[ubris] arbor*, the mast, or station, of the serpent, and hence of the emblem of Mercury, there is some ground to contend that the harbours may have served as post-stations—compare the modern *dak* bungalows of India—or as points in a system of military block-houses where wayfarers might have been made welcome if only for the sake of news that they brought. We shall add some remarks on this hypothesis in another paper.

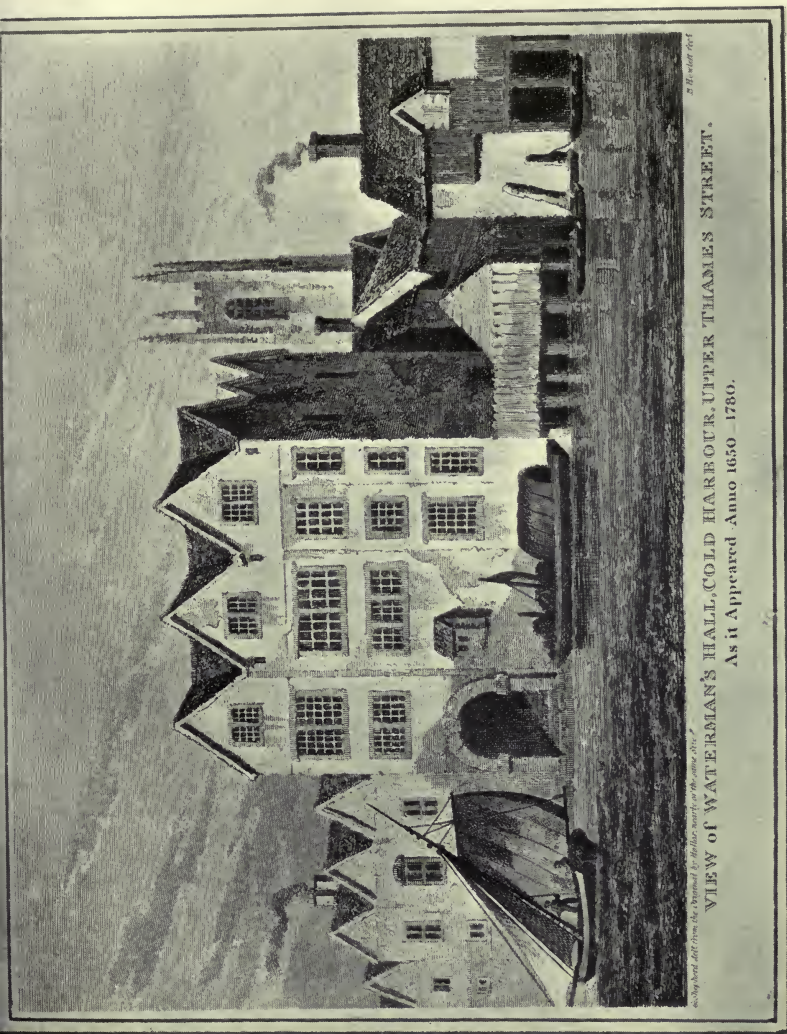
The best known Cold Harbour was that of the City of London, in Dowgate Ward, situated on the river front about midway between London Bridge and where the now-hidden Walbrook empties itself into the Thames. Hard by, at Dowgate Ferry, the Roman Hermin Street joined the Prætorian Way, while within 100 yards was London Stone, the centre of the Roman City.

Several of our chief topographers, Herbert amongst them, have alleged that the Cold Harbour was tenanted by the merchants of Köln in the year 1220, but the present writer humbly doubts the statement. Certainly the Köln merchants—afterwards merged in those of the Hanse—held, by charter, premises adjoining, familiarly known to the citizens as the Steelyard,¹ where Cannon Street railway bridge is now thrown across the river.

Whatever may have been the fortunes of this ancient manor—for as a manor it first appears—prior to the year 1317 must for ever remain obscure, since it is scarce probable that any records are likely to be brought to light to inform us of its earlier history. In 1317 Robert, the son of William de Hereford, holder of the “capital tenement called Coldherberghe, in the parish of All Hallows at the Hay,” demised the same, together with easements on his wharf near by, to Sir John Abel, knight, and Margery, his late wife, mother of the said Robert, for a term of ten years. Abel, however, after two years managed to get quit of the agreement by passing the lease on to one Henry de Stowe, a draper and citizen, the latter covenanting to take the house for eight years from Michaelmas, at an annual rent of 33s. 4d.

Ere the lease had expired, the interest in the mansion had passed to the Bigot family, through Sir Ralph Bigot's marriage with Hereford's daughter Idonea. In the short lapse of twenty years the son of this marriage, John, sold it to Sir John Poultney—another prosperous draper—who, as everyone

¹ Corruption of German *Stael* = market.



From a print in the Grace Collection.
 Photograph by Donald Macbeth.



COLD HARBOUR, LONDON.

knows, held the office of mayor on as many as four occasions. Poultney, the new owner, rebuilt the property, making his new mansion so magnificent, indeed, as to deserve the envious glances of royalty. In size and grandeur it could compare well with the neighbouring palaces of the great and take its place amongst the finest private buildings of that century. Its massive walls were of stone, and presented in all likelihood the appearance of a feudal castle, with battlements, turrets, and loopholes, and possibly portcullis. Such was Poultney's Inn, as it came to be called later. The eastern front ran the length of Cold Harbour Lane, from All Hallows' church to the river. Within the quadrangular pile we can scarcely doubt, was a courtyard, while down beneath the lofty arch yonder, a flight of steps descended to the gleaming, and as yet unsullied, river. A chapel was added, which in later times became the parish church of All Hallows the Less.

Poultney, however, never lived here, but in the neighbouring parish of St. Lawrence. A memorandum in the State Papers furnishes us with the name of the tenant, the Earl of Salisbury. The reference touches some dispute at law in 1346 between John de Moleyns and Richard Talbot, Steward of the King's Household, from whom the former was trying to recover lands that had been forfeited while he was in prison. Apparently the Earl was appointed arbiter, for he "prayeth deponent to come to his house called Coldeherburgh, in London": what the issue was does not concern us. The Earl appointed to deliver judgement was doubtless William Mountagu, the husband of Joan of Kent, "the Fair," granddaughter of Edward I. The will of Sir John de Pulteney, dated November 14, 1348, directs his tenement called here "le Coldherberug," and anon "le Choldherberwe," to be sold, and Henry Pycard (Lord Mayor in 1356) to have the first refusal for 1000 marks sterling. But Pycard lost the opportunity after all, for Poultney frustrated his own intention by disposing of the tenement to Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, at a quit-rent to be discharged by the payment of "a rose yearly at Midsummer."

Hereford's interest eventually passed to the Earl of Arundel, who had wedded the former's niece. Being attainted of conspiracy in 1397, this nobleman lost the estate to the Crown, not to mention surrender of his head. Once possessed of this so princely mansion the royal family occupied it on and off

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for several generations. In the year (1397) that it adverted to the Crown, John Holland, Duke of Exeter, Richard II's half-brother, held the manor, and on one occasion Richard feasted within its halls. In the same year it became the home of Edmond, Duke of York, its royal tenant staying four years.

According to Stow, the churchyard of All Saints the Less was enlarged in 20 Richard II by the gift of Philip St. Clear of two messuages pertaining to Cold Harbour, in the Ropery.

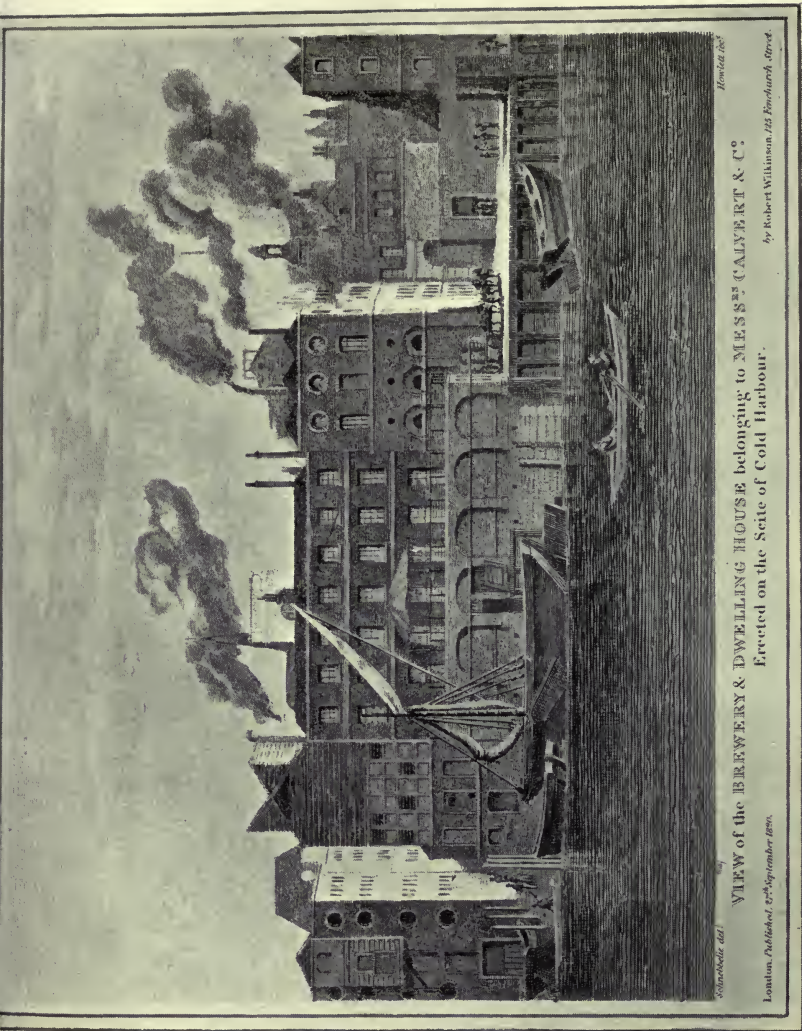
In 1410 the merry Prince Hal came of age and received from his father Cold Harbour as a present fit to the occasion, with an order upon the Collector of Customs for twenty casks and one pipe of red wine of Gascony, duty free.

The year 1444 saw Cold Harbour the property of the Dukes of Exeter again, Henry Holland's first, and next, his son's. Through supporting the Lancastrian cause, the younger Exeter's tenure was shortened by the success of the Yorkist arms. The Duke recovered from wounds received on Barnet Field, only to be attainted and to have the usual penalty of confiscation enforced against him. For the rest of the reign of Edward IV the "right fayre and statelie house" remained in the hands of the King.

Richard III, in the last year of his reign, granted Cold Harbour, or Pulteney's Inn, as it is variously mentioned, absolutely to the College of Heralds, who were then suing for a charter of incorporation, and likewise a home wherein to pursue their art. Their occupation was of short duration, for there arose a king who knew not the acts of his predecessor, and who evicted them in favour of his mother, Margaret, the Countess of Richmond. According to Herbert, her residence here was short. On the occasion of Prince Arthur's marriage with Catharine of Aragon, a feast, at which the Countess of Richmond was hostess, was given to the City fathers. Of the sumptuousness of the entertainment the Chroniclers leave no doubt. First, we are told, the Lord Mayor and his brethren were amused with a variety of "sportes and devyses," and afterwards were "ensyrvid after the right goodly man^r bothe of their vitalls, deynties, and delectates, and w^t dyvers wyne, abundante and plentuously." "The house was hung with riche clothes of Arras," and the hall was furnished forth with a resplendent array of gold and silver plate.

Cold Harbour's next tenant was George, Earl of Shrewsbury, whose depositions in Henry's divorce proceedings against Catherine were sworn there.

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From a print in the Grace Collection.
Photograph by Donald Macbeth.



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Next it became the town hostel of Tunstal, Bishop of Durham, who came to have it through an enforced exchange of his Durham Place in the Strand with Henry VIII's offer of Cold Harbour. While he remained there, it is thought by some that the house afforded a means of sanctuary to fugitive offenders. The adversions of sub-contemporary dramatists to the refuge will be considered later. In 1553, when Bishop Tunstal was relieved of his see, the Boy King's Protector, Somerset, granted the unoccupied mansion to Francis, fifth Earl of Shrewsbury. Francis enjoyed it for seven years and died, leaving title and estates to George, who was by Elizabeth the appointed guardian of the unfortunate Mary Stuart and her friends. Here for a while, according to Miss Strickland, within this City palace of Lord Shrewsbury, the Earl and Countess of Lennox were confined. She quotes, for evidence, a letter of the Countess dated from "Cole-harbour" in 1568, but none can say how long they were jailed in its narrow ward.

The change of the old order in the 16th century witnessed the migration westward of the nobility: for this reason Cold Harbour was vacated by the succeeding Earl, and afterwards it was let by him to a graceless lot of tenants, as we shall presently see.

The earliest print extant of the bygone palace shows it as it appeared during Tudor times—a great edifice four storeys high, with a front of five bays crowned by gables. In the lowest storey a comely arch breaks the stone façade, beneath which a flight of steps ascends within. So much for the front, which looks upon the river; on the north, access was only possible through a massive gateway, over which was built the choir and steeple of All Hallows.

It was not many years after the incorporation of the Watermen's Company that they chose Cold Harbour for their Livery Hall, leasing that portion of the block towards London Bridge, together with the quays and water-gate appertaining. About this time the western bays were rebuilt (1593) by the Earl of Shrewsbury and arranged to form sets of tenements. These tenements, little known as Shrewsbury House, were let out at exorbitant rents expressly to debtors, sharpers, and bad characters of every sort, and well earned Middleton's nickname of the *Devil's Sanctuary*. Seventeenth century dramatists teem with allusions to the ill-reputed place; a few examples from their pages must suffice.

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Its knighthood shall do worse, take sanctuary in Cole Harbour, sanctuary and fast.—BEN JONSON's *Silent Woman*, i, 3.

Dekker's *Westward Hoe* (1604), the Earl says:

What art thou that dost cozen me thus?

Parenthesis. A Marchaunt's wife, I say, Justiniano's wife. She, whome that long burding-piece of yours, I meane that Wicked mother Bird-lyme, caught for your honor . . . Why, my Lord, has your Lordshippe forgot how ye courted me last morning?

Earl. The diuel, I did!

Par. To me, upon mine honestie, swore you would build me a lodging by the Thames-side, with a water-gate to it, or els take me a lodging in Cole-harbour.

Healy's *Discovery of a New World*, p. 182, is very informing:

Here is that ancient modell of Cole Harbour bearing the name of the "Prodigall's Promonterie," and being as a sanctuary for banquerupt detters: hether flie all they for refuge that are cast at lawe, or feele themselves insufficient to satisfy their deluded creditors: any of whome, if they pursue their debtors hether, and force them from their protection whether they will or no, they are immediatelie accused as guiltie of sacrilege and so are throwne head-long from the highest tower in all the territorie; and when they rise from their fall, can no way complaine of any iniustice but haue undergone the ancient law of the whole Marquisate.

Thos. Heywood and Rowley in *Fortune by Land and Sea* (1655), II, ii:

. . . Unless to Cold Harbour, where, of twenty chimnies standing, you shall scarce in a whole winter see two smoking. We harbour her? Bridewell shall first.

Middleton in *The Black Book*:

What! Is not our house, our own Cole Harbour, our Castle of Come-down and lie?

And in *A Trick to Catch the Old One* a whole scene is made of "an apartment in Cold Harbour."

Bishop Hall's *Satires*, V, i:

Or thence thy starv'd brother live and die,
Within the cold Coal-harbour sanctuary.

Thos. Powell's satire, *The Misterie of Lending and Borrowing* (1636), epigrammatically explained by the sub-title, "Wheresoever you see mee, trust unto yourselfe," says:

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That (refuge) of Cold Harbour, where was an excellent block-house to correspond with that of the close on the other side; both whiche together cleered the passage of the river betweene them, so that no water bayliffe durst come within their reach at point-blanke. And this (as they write) was taken by the sword in time of their securitie.

In the sixth year of King James I the Crown rights in Cold Harbour were made over to the City Corporation, and to the plain discomfiture of its renegade inhabitants, since by the act were destroyed the extra-territorial privileges of which it had hitherto been possessed. Still, it would not seem that the rookery of rakes and rascals was denuded of its tenants at once, for on March 22, 1614, Sir Edward Phelipps of the Middle Temple wrote to the Lord Mayor, informing him that the King had given orders for the apprehension of one Richard Smarte, "the greatest spoiler of his deere in the forest of Waltham that ever lyved," who had been found in or near Cold Harbour, and requiring him to give an order for his apprehension.

The next incident is supplied by Pepys. In his Diary he tells, under date of Oct. 31, 1662, the story of an apparent hoax played upon the King, how £7,000 was supposed to lie hidden in some vaguely defined spot, the kernel of the mystery, and how his Majesty set out to find the buried treasure. The search began in the vaults beneath the Tower, guided by Pepys himself and accompanied by the Lieutenant of the Tower and the Lord Mayor. After the Tower had been searched in vain the party struck a fresh trail at Cold Harbour,¹ and went to work there under a *mittimus* from the Lord Mayor. Here again the searchers failed in their quest, and so returned to renew their investigations at the Tower.

The year 1608 saw the Thames hard frozen for three months, by which the watermen and bargees were severely distressed. The first ferry to be cut through the ice plied between the Cold Harbour Stairs and Bankside. Alongside the passage fellow-watermen earned scanty fees in whatever service they could. From ice to fire is a long cry, yet the Great Fire is the next item to be noticed. Situated but a short quarter-mile from the conflagration's start Cold Harbour was soon com-

¹ There is some possibility that it may have been the Cold Harbour within the Tower, yet the *order* from the Lord Mayor seems to point to the Cold Harbour in Dowgate, now within the civic jurisdiction, as being the place meant by Pepys.

COLD HARBOUR, LONDON.

pletely gutted. With unlimited supplies of their element at hand the watermen worked gallantly to save their Hall and its treasures, yet, in spite of their efforts, all that was left was a wilderness of *débris*, out of which peered here and there a pinnacle of blackened masonry. Three or four years later Waterman's Hall was rebuilt, this time of brick, after a plain but substantial fashion, without much pretension to dignity. In front of the hall ran an embankment forty feet wide (in accordance with the Act of Parliament relating to the rebuilding of the City) which appears in the maps of the period as the "New Key."

When in 1719, that is, forty-nine years after rebuilding, the lease expired, the Hall was again rebuilt, a more imposing structure. Certain trustees renewed the agreement with Lord Barrington, then the freeholder, for an extension of sixty-one years, covenanting to pay £575 down and a rent of £40 annually, besides promising to spend £600 on a new hall, over and above the value of the old materials. In the terms of the agreement the property consisted of "a messuage, or tenement, called Watermen's Hall and the warehouse, or cellar, under the same and premises adjoining, together with the free use of the wharf and stairs adjoining the said wharf, called Cold Harbour Stairs." The work of the new hall was put in hand at once and cost the full £600 stipulated in the contract. The prints show a large building of three storeys, erected in brick, and of the shape of the letter L reversed. The windows in each range are long, narrow, and round-headed; the main pavilion is supported on either side by lesser flanks, and is crowned by a triangular pediment, in the panel of which are displayed the royal arms.

In 1772 the Watermen held their first regatta on the Thames. It was a busy, thriving day for the sons of the great river-god, all the town, court, city, and suburbs flocking down to the water's edge to witness the novel event. Half a guinea was asked and readily given for a seat in a barge, and points of vantage on the banks were profitably turned to account by such as were blest with positions. From Westminster Bridge to Watermen's Hall and back was fixed upon for the course, and competition was restricted to members of the Company. The race was started by the Lord Mayor upon the turn of the tide, the boats, distinguishable by respective colourings of red, white, and blue, being drawn up in flotillas beneath the arches of the bridge. The first

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boats to pull home were those of the red display, and were accordingly awarded the premier prize of £10 10s., besides new coats and a gold lettered ensign to fly, as it were a certificate of merit. The other contestants were also appropriately awarded, and afterwards as many as might adjourned to finish the gala amidst the illuminations at Ranelagh Gardens.

The Watermen's Company in 1778 removed their headquarters elsewhere, and save for an obstruction at Cold Harbour Stairs, into which a committee of the livery was appointed to inquire (in 1814), their doings no longer concern us. And what of the rest of the Cold Harbour premises? Since the Great Fire information as to its uses is rarely recorded. Strype, in 1720, speaks of "a lane at the eastern end of All Hallows' church, called Hay Wharf, where there had lately been builded a brew-house by one Pot. Henry Campion, Esq.,¹ a beer brewer, used it, and Abraham his son since possessed it." The intimate details of the transference of the property have not been disclosed, but the next owner was Henry Calvert, who founded the great brewery firm which has held the premises down to the present day.

In 1744 a big fire did damage to the buildings and plant, as then owned by Sir William Calvert. The Prince of Wales happened to be an interested spectator of the conflagration, and afterwards made the firemen a present of 100 guineas for their work. A view of 1820 shows us a group of high buildings with Wren's tower of All Hallows rearing skywards in the background; Watermen's Hall has been gone forty years and more, but the old gateway leading down the lane to the water is still visible.

Fifty years ago the private interests were transformed into a limited liability company, when the title of The City of London Brewery was taken, the Calvert family retaining still a controlling interest. In place of All Hallows' church, pulled down through its dwindling Sunday worshippers, are the counting-house and offices of the firm, a goodly pile of red brick set off with stone dressings. Nearer the river are the maltings and the vat-house. On the walls of the board-room hang many pictures and old prints illustrative of past principals and the buildings at various periods of the firm's development.

¹ Campion was a posthumous benefactor to the united parishes of All Hallows, bequeathing a sum to produce £10 annually.—*Hatton*.

COLD HARBOUR, LONDON.

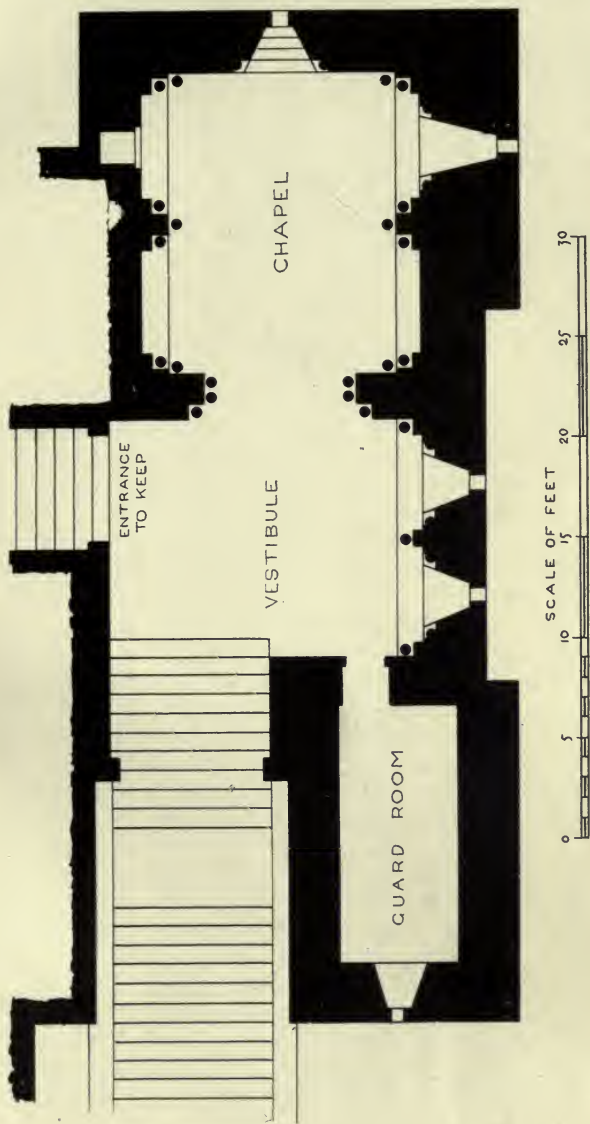
A licensed house for the retailing of what may be "consumed on or off the premises" is the "Hour-Glass" in Thames Street, belonging to the firm. Here, we cannot forbear to remark, shades jostle shades, seeing that it is fenced about by the twin graveyards of All Hallows. The inn being comparatively modern, though not so new as its exterior implies, lacks historical reminiscences; it is frequented principally by carmen, whose vans do much loading and unloading at the various warehouses around.

THE CHAPEL ROYAL OF DOVER CASTLE.

BY J. TAVENOR-PERRY.

THE Royal Engineers were engaged in 1870 on restoring the internal stonework of the south-eastern angle of the fore-building of Dover Castle; considerable reparations, even to the extent of replacing decayed and destroyed carving, were carried out, and a restoration was effected perhaps even "fiercer" than might have been indulged in by any celebrated ecclesiastical architect of the period. At that time, by the special permission of the Colonel commanding at Dover, the author of this paper was permitted to take advantage of the opportunity these circumstances afforded, in the way of scaffolding and assistance, to take measurements and to make careful drawings of the whole of this ancient work; the information thus obtained, on which the following paper is based, has become the more valuable since some of the most interesting parts of the building are now quite inaccessible, and all photographing and drawing within the fortification are very strictly forbidden.

Dover Castle, on account of its magnificent position, its historic associations and its architectural charms, has been, as might be expected, the theme of many writers; and many legends connecting it with our British ancestors and with the Romans pass current in the guide-books as authentic history. But it has now been fairly established that the Romans only used the castle-hill for the erection of one of their great twin lighthouses to mark the port; and that William the Conqueror, who was so anxious to obtain possession of the *castellum* or



J. Tavenor-Perry mens. et del. 1870

Dover Castle; Plan of Entrance to Keep.

Drawn by J. Tavenor-Perry.



THE CHAPEL ROYAL OF DOVER CASTLE.

fortified town of Dover, then separated from the eastern heights by the inlet of the sea which formed its port, found no trace of fortification, Roman or Saxon, on the site of the present Castle, other than some slight earthworks round the Pharos.

Among the more important descriptions of the Castle which may be specially mentioned are the Rev. W. Darell's *History of Dover Castle*, written in the reign of Queen Elizabeth and of but little value from an architectural point of view; the accounts given by G. T. Clark in his *Military Architecture of Great Britain*, and by Harold Sands in the *Memorials of Old Kent*; by Albert Hartshorne in the *Architect* for 1869; and by Lieutenant W. Emerson Peck, R.E., in volume 45 of *Archæologia*. But all of these are in the main made up of general statements and conclusions arrived at from an examination of the existing remains, since the actual history is, unfortunately, confined to a few entries in the Great Roll of the Pipe. These entries inform us that considerable works to the keep of the Castle were commenced in 1180, the 27th year of Henry II. In 1184 the sum of £131 8s. 10d. was expended on the keep; in 1185 a further sum of £299 2s. 1d., and to Maurice the Engeniator, presumably for his fees in connection with the work, £7 19s. In 1186 the sum of £207 9s. was laid out under the control of the same Maurice, and the next year a further sum of £151 15s. 4d. seems to have completed the work. In connection with these statements it is worth while to mention here for a comparison of the dates, though the subject will be referred to at greater length presently, that the rebuilding of the choir of Canterbury Cathedral after the great fire was proceeding during the same period; and though the works were at a stand-still during 1183 for want of funds, William the Englishman, the architect in charge of the works, had completed them in 1184.

To appreciate the value of this evidence it is necessary to give a slight sketch of the history of the Castle to the end of the twelfth century, condensed from the above-named authorities. As we have already said, it is unlikely that the Normans found any defensive works, or anything which could be regarded as a castle, on the eastern heights; and at the time of their advent the sea flowed inland along the present course of the river Dour, washing the whole length of the eastern Roman wall of Dover, forming its harbour, and cutting it off

THE CHAPEL ROYAL OF DOVER CASTLE.

entirely from the hills on that side. In 1085, at the time of the Domesday Survey, no mention is made of any castle at Dover, although William, during the eight days he remained in the town, had formed, or at least strengthened, some defensive earthworks round the Roman Pharos, all traces of which have been destroyed in later alterations.

But although the defences erected by William on the eastern heights may have been no more than ramparts of earth or rough chalk, with ditches and wooden stockades, they were of sufficient strength to resist the sudden attack made on them next year by Count Eustace of Boulogne ; while two years later they repelled an assault from the Danes. The importance of the position became evident to William before his death, and considerable additions were made to its strength by the Constable, John, Lord Fiennes ; while early in the reign of Henry I masonry was introduced and perhaps substituted for the earthen ramparts. Generally speaking, the surrounding walls of the second bailey, on the east, north, and west sides, are of this period ; and this portion of the works suffered severely in the siege of 1137. The existing keep may have been erected at the same time, and have likewise suffered ; and, the weakness of the fortifications having been thus demonstrated, Henry II commenced his great scheme for their strengthening.

How far the existing keep can be regarded as forming part of the works carried out in the time of Henry I it is now difficult to determine, as the alterations it underwent towards the end of the twelfth century, and the restorations and modifications from which it has suffered in modern times, render any recognition of the earliest work almost impossible. But having regard to the dates of the other square keeps remaining in England, it is fair to assume that that of Dover had received its present form and dimensions before Henry II commenced his important additions. According to the entries in the Pipe Roll extensive preparations were in hand as early as 1168 in the collection of stone and other materials for the contemplated works ; but this fact, together with the entries already quoted, are practically all the historical data we have on which to base the story now to be told of these important architectural additions which form so interesting a feature in the keep of Dover Castle.

There is one point mentioned almost incidentally in these entries worthy of comment, which is perhaps rare in the



Dover Castle; Entrance Stairs to Keep.
 Drawn by J. Tavenor-Perry.



THE CHAPEL ROYAL OF DOVER CASTLE.

history of military construction during the Middle Ages, and that is the name of the civil architect who was employed to design and superintend the work, and the fees he was paid, though it is to be trusted not the full amount which he received for his professional assistance. That Maurice was not a mere military engineer in the modern or even the mechanical sense, will appear pretty evident when we come to examine the details of his work; and the probabilities are that he had worked at Canterbury under William the Englishman, who, on the completion of his work there, seems to have been employed to erect the cathedral at Coventry, where he gained the credit of being "one of the most renowned architects in England." Maurice, indeed, may have been one of the French artificers who were summoned to Canterbury after the fire to consult as to the repairs or rebuilding, and from whom, all as related in the history of Gervase the Monk, William of Sens was selected to undertake the work, "being most skilful in wood and stone." Other civil architects had already been engaged on castle building, for one Richard de Wolveston, *ingeniator*, who is also described as a *prudens architectus*, was employed by Bishop Puiset on his works at Durham Cathedral and, in 1154, in building the keep of his castle at Norham.

The gross sum laid out on the repairs and additions to the castle by Henry II appears to have amounted to £4,763 17s. 8d., which was expended in rebuilding in great part the *cingulum* or surrounding walls and towers of the second baily erected by Henry I, and in considerable alterations to the walls of the old or inner baily where the two works adjoined. Except for some repairs to the old and outer defences, the remainder of the money was expended on the keep, and if, as may be assumed, this had been already erected by Henry I, we have to look for the alterations and additions then made, and distinguish between the works of the two reigns.

It seems evident that a large part of the outlay on the keep was expended on the fore-building erected to protect the main entrance. This addition at Dover is remarkable for its importance and extent as compared with any other example, and is evidently not part of the original building. It is to be remembered that these fore-buildings were no essential part of the normal Norman keep; there was none originally to the Tower of London, or at Colchester, which was built on the

THE CHAPEL ROYAL OF DOVER CASTLE.

same model. The earliest castles in Normandy, which the builders of the time of William I no doubt copied in England, had no such arrangement, for the rule was with all these square donjons, Romanesque in general as well as Norman, to place the entrance at a considerable distance above the surrounding ground, on a level with the principal floor, to which access could only be gained by a movable ladder, or by a drawbridge to a wooden staircase which could be easily destroyed in time of war.

Of these examples of the normal type in Normandy may be mentioned the square keeps of Domfront at the beginning of the eleventh century, of Chambois early in the twelfth, and the famous keep of Arques, also of the eleventh century, which seems to have had a fore-building added later, with a staircase and arrangements similar to Dover, although not so extensive. In England, besides the cases of London and Colchester already mentioned, there are the keeps of Guildford, Scarborough, Norham, and several others, still without fore-buildings, or to which these have only been added at a later date.

The great tower of Dover Castle, apart from its fore-building, measures approximately, for the sides are not exactly parallel, 90 feet by 96 feet. It was entered by a doorway towards the north end of the east front at a great height above the ground, and assuming it to be an erection of the time of Henry I, it may always have been approached by a permanent staircase. In consequence of the great height of the doorway, this staircase had to be made so long that there was not room for it all on the one side, but it had to be turned round and continued along the south side in a manner unique among English castles; and the only parallel case is that of Arques in Normandy, already cited, the staircase of which may be of the same date.

The staircase is divided into four flights, of which two are on the south side and uncovered, and two on the east side enclosed within the forebuilding. The lowest flight, which starts from the south at right angles to the front, is modern in its construction and arrangement, while the next flight of twenty-two steps, with an intermediate landing, probably occupies its original position. The upper part of this runs between the south wall of the keep and an advanced portion of the forebuilding containing a guard-room (see plan), and is crossed by the first entrance arch. At this point there was in



Dover Castle; Entrance to Lower Chapel of Keep.

Drawn by J. Tavenor-Perry.



THE CHAPEL ROYAL OF DOVER CASTLE.

all probability a pit covered with a drawbridge, as at Rochester, and perhaps also a portcullis ; but the arches and so much of the masonry of this and the other entrances to be mentioned have been restored or rebuilt and all traces of such defences obliterated.

Passing through a second archway to the left, which may also have been defended by a portcullis, the staircase turned up along the east wall of the keep, ascending in two flights, and somewhat recalling the beautiful staircase of Castle Rising, which was also erected early in the reign of Henry I. Between these two flights is a broad landing where may originally have been another drawbridge and pit ; a third archway at this point was provided with special means of defence in a turret built on the outer face of the fore-building, containing a circular well-hole giving access to this gate from an upper floor, which enabled the garrison, by means of a movable ladder, to descend to the assistance of those defending the gate if unduly pressed by the enemy. Opposite the top of the stairs was a chamber which may have been only a guard room ; and on the left of the top landing was the fourth archway, which gave access to the principal floor of the keep.

The staircase we have described has passed in its course through two practically separate fore-buildings ; the inner one, which clings to the east wall of the keep, is of the normal type to be seen at Newcastle, Rochester, Norwich, and Castle Rising ; and the outer one, on the south side of the keep and projecting considerably before the eastern face of the other one, the like of which is not to be found in this country, and it is this particular fore-building with which we have now more particularly to deal. It measures from west to east about 51 feet, and from north to south 22 feet, and contains two storeys of chambers having together an internal height of 35 feet, standing on a lofty and massive basement ; and the first portion of the staircase gives access from the ground level to the lower floor of this building.

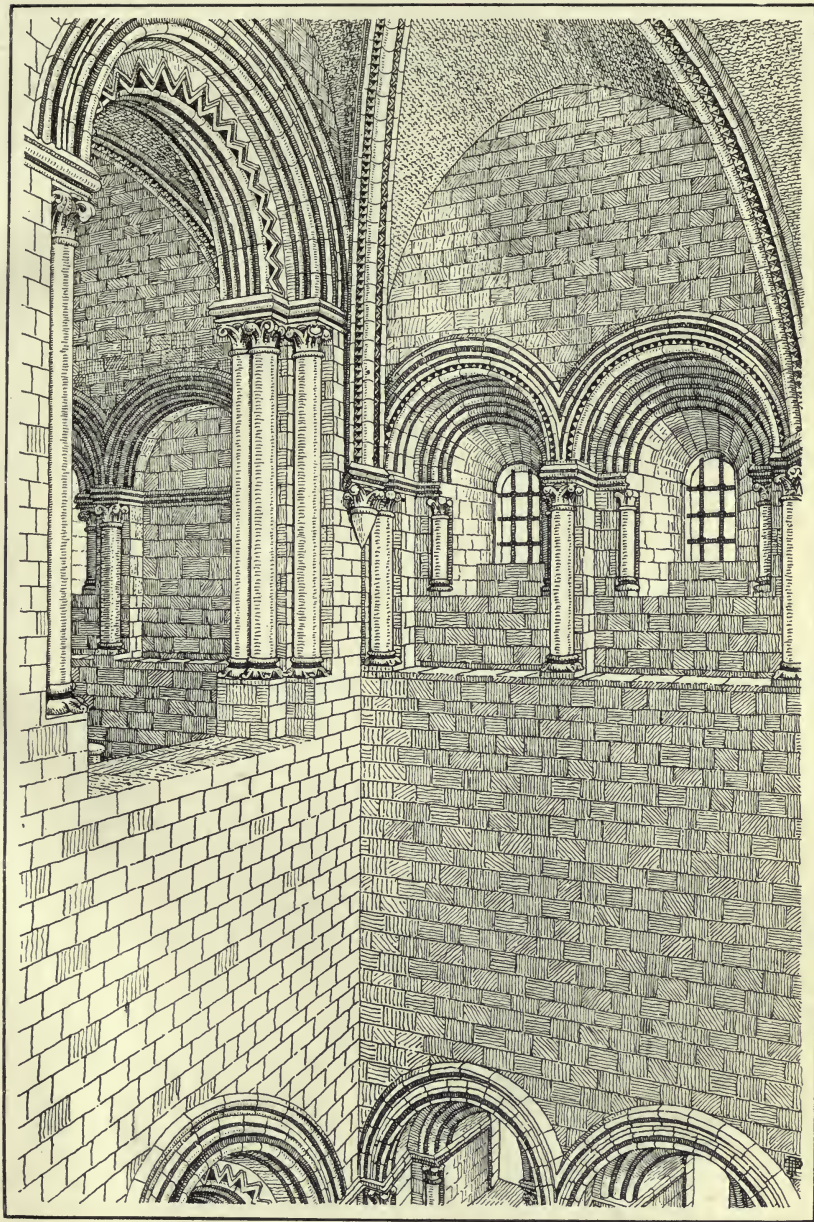
The first stage of the building contains a vestibule at the head of the stairs which gives access to the second doorway leading up into the keep, and it is lighted by the great open entrance archway and two small windows in the south wall. To the west of it and entered through a narrow doorway is the guard-room, 12 feet 6 inches by 6 feet, covered by a barrel vault in concrete ; while to the east by a broad open archway access is gained to an apartment measuring 15 feet

THE CHAPEL ROYAL OF DOVER CASTLE.

by 11 feet 6 inches, lighted by two narrow windows and the open archway to the vestibule, which is generally known as the lower chapel. It may, at first at least, have been intended only to serve as a guard-room, but at some time slightly subsequent to its building a trefoil headed niche which looks like a piscina was inserted in the east wall to the south of the window, hence the assumption that at one time it contained an altar. The chapel and vestibule were enclosed above by the underside of a floor, now removed, which consisted of massive oak beams on which was laid fine concrete and red tiles to form the flooring, the level of which was 18 feet above that of the floor below.

The upper storey consisted of three rooms corresponding in shape and size with those below, and of the purpose for which they were intended from the first there can be but little doubt. The two larger rooms formed together the Chapel of the keep for the use of the royal or other distinguished persons living in the Castle, the third room being a sacristy for the use of the priest. Access was obtained to this floor from the keep by a small opening in the main south wall opening into a passage formed in the thickness of the wall over the first arch crossing the lower staircase, and at the south end of this passage doors to the left and right opened into the chapel and the sacristy. As this passage was found to be inconveniently dark and narrow, being only 2 feet 4 inches wide, a fresh doorway was cut through in Tudor times, formed with a four-centred arch in brickwork, directly into the chapel in its north-western angle. The chapel was vaulted over in two bays, divided unequally by a chancel arch, as in the chapel of the fore-building at Rochester.

It has been suggested, and the idea is repeated in the article in *Archæologia* already referred to, that the greater part of this south-east fore-building was standing, though open and roofless, before Henry II commenced his works, which, so far as this particular part of the castle is concerned, were confined to adapting the building, by refacing and ornamentation, to its altered uses, and vaulting it over in the manner we now see. If such were the case it would be difficult to conceive for what purpose the eastward extension of the south work beyond the line of the staircase could have been intended to serve, since nothing of the kind is to be found in any castle of the eleventh or twelfth centuries in either England or France. Having regard, however, to the extensive



Dover Castle; Upper Chapel of Keep.

Drawn by J. Tavenor-Perry.



THE CHAPEL ROYAL OF DOVER CASTLE.

character and cost of the works undertaken at this time, it seems much more probable that this portion, if not the whole, of the fore-building owes its conception and completion to the engineer of Henry II.

There is no doubt that a chapel was considered an essential feature in a Norman keep; and it was always placed in close contiguity to and easily accessible from the principal apartment. This was exclusively for the use of the lord and his family; but for the garrison generally there was another chapel placed somewhere in the baily. The important character of the chapel in the "White Tower" of London is well known, but that was for royal use, for in the inner ward was built, at least as early as the reign of Henry I the chapel of St. Peter for the use of the garrison, and at Dover the church of St. Mary-in-Castro served the same purpose. In the earlier keeps, where there were no fore-buildings, or these were too small to contain anything beyond the stairs, the chapel was placed within the keep, as at Castle Rising and, perhaps, Norwich, and this may have been the case at Dover before the alterations of 1180, when the architect, following the example of Rochester, arranged for a more worthy chapel in his new works.

The drawings with which this article is illustrated will give the best general idea of the architecture of this beautiful little Chapel Royal; but some description is required to explain them. It is necessary, however, to point out, as an explanation of one peculiarity, that the ancient floor of the upper storey has been entirely removed, and all traces of it obliterated, except in the sacristy, where it rested on a solid vault; so that now the whole of the internal space of this fore-building, from floor to roof, is visible at a glance. The rough rubble main walls have been internally rivetted with ashlar of Caen stone properly coursed in shallow beds, and the whole of the work, carved or moulded, finished in the best manner.

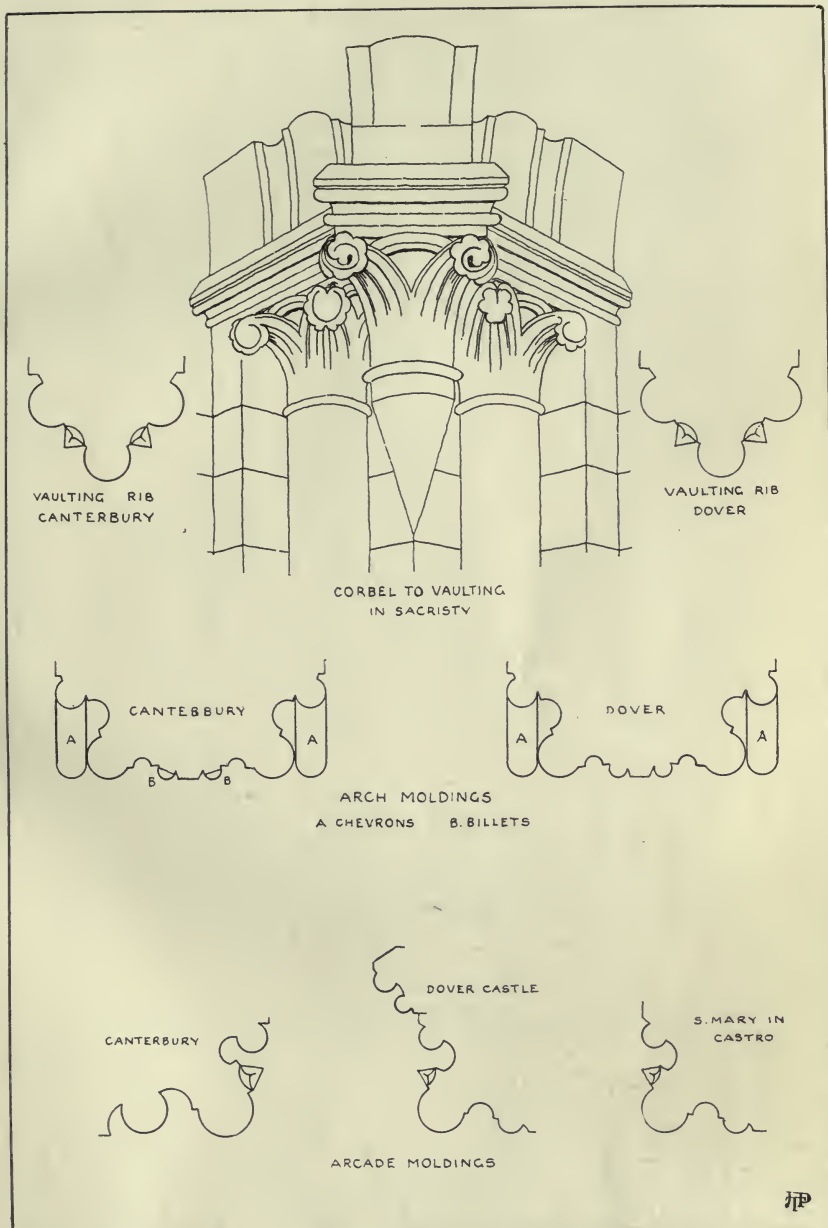
The first and most striking feature to be commented on is the fine arched opening on the ground floor, repeated with rather more lofty proportions on the floor above, between the vestibule and the lower chapel. This has a semi-circular arch of 6 feet 6 inches span, in two orders of mouldings, of which the inner and enriched one seems of an earlier character than the outer and plain moulded one; and this has suggested the theory that this, together with the other zig-zag decorated

THE CHAPEL ROYAL OF DOVER CASTLE.

arches on the eastern wall, belonged to an earlier building, and were reset in the new work. This assumption is, however, quite unnecessary. From the detail given in the plate it will be seen that the mouldings of the inner order of this arch are identical with others at Canterbury as figured in Willis's *Architectural History of Canterbury Cathedral*, except that the small soffit rolls, marked B on the section, which are left plain at Dover, are at Canterbury worked into a billet enrichment.

Against the east wall occur arches of a wider span, which cannot be identified with any at Canterbury, but are of an even earlier character than the last mentioned. It will be seen that their enrichments of the reversed zigzag and double cone might be the work of the period of Henry I, and are the only portion which could have been re-used or reproduced from an older building. The mouldings which are so plentifully used throughout are of a very French character, and most of them can be directly referred to Canterbury. Take, for instance, the moulded vaulting ribs, consisting of three bold rolls with a dog-tooth ornament in the two hollows, used in the two compartments of the chapel at Dover. This is identical with the diagonal ribs of the side aisles at Canterbury erected by William of Sens between 1176 and 1178, and also identical with the vaulting ribs of the Chapter House of Vézelay erected a few years before, with which William was doubtless familiar, and which place was so curiously associated with the later history of Thomas à Becket. The very rich mouldings of the wall arcades, which also occur on the sedilia of St. Mary-in-Castro, have a most remarkable and effective arrangement of the dog-tooth, by placing it on the side of the great roll so that its points are silhouetted against the shadow of the hollow, and instead of being placed in the usual English fashion in the hollow itself with the head projecting outwards. This special feature is also to be found in the work of William of Sens in the lower arcades of the eastern transepts at Canterbury.

The repetition of the mouldings of one building in another is by no means uncommon in mediæval work; and is often the means of tracing the operations of the same architect in various parts of the country. These mouldings, which played so important a part in Gothic architecture, were set out by the master-mason at an early stage of the work so that the stones could be prepared ready for fixing when required; and



Dover Castle Keep; Mouldings and Details.
 Drawn by J. Tavenor-Perry.



ST. ALBAN'S SHRINE.

these settings-out of the master hand were transferred to "templates" or thin metal plates cut to the profile of the moulding. All the principal templates for the work at Canterbury must therefore have been prepared by William of Sens and handed over by him to William the Englishman when he relinquished his office. It is not at all improbable that English William in 1183, when the works at Canterbury were at a standstill, and again in 1185, when they were completed, may have gone to Dover and prepared designs for the work in the chapel, and handed his designs and models over to his assistant Maurice, whose name is first mentioned in that year, when he went to undertake the more important work at Coventry.

The vaulting of the chapel is quadripartite, a rib springing from each angle of each chamber; the corbel which carries the rib being placed on a line with the capitals of the wall arcades and grouped with them. The ribs, on the moulding of which we have dwelt, are in Caen stone, and the filling-in is in tufa, not the volcanic, but a limestone tufa, to be found in the valley of the Dour above Dover and of the Dore in Herefordshire. The vaulting of the sacristy is of a similar character, but the diagonal ribs springing from the corbels are a simple roll as shown; and instead of the low, richly moulded arcades as at the sides of the chapel, it has blank moulded arches occupying the full width of each wall and carried on angle shafts.

Such was the Chapel which Henry II had prepared for himself and his descendants in the keep of his royal castle; though not so extensive as that in the Tower of London, nor so commodious and decorated as the later royal chapels of Paris, Westminster, and Windsor, it was yet well worthy of Dover, the *Clavis et Repagulum totius regni*.

ST. ALBAN'S SHRINE: A RECOVERED RELIC OF THE PAST.

BY C. H. ASHDOWN, F.R.G.S.

FOREMOST among the many ecclesiastical edifices that claim our attention and respect, by reason of their antiquity and historical associations, stands the venerable Abbey Church of St. Albans. Cresting the hill sanctified

ST. ALBAN'S SHRINE.

by the blood of England's Protomartyr, it rests in solemn grandeur on a hallowed site whose far-off memories take us back through hoary centuries to the age of Constantine the Great. In those ancient times, when the tragedy of Calvary was but as yesterday, a small church was built by the early Christians of the Roman city of Verulamium, which stood on the opposite slope of the valley. When the Roman power declined the eagles left the land a prey to northern hosts, whose savage barbarism swept the Gospel from the face of English soil. But the seed was again sown and flourished, and the Mercian monarch, Offa II, reared his great monastic buildings around the time-worn church, and Saxon abbats chanted within its walls until the time of Hastings. Then the proud Norman, with Roman tile and stone, built the massive pile whose tower and turrets still look o'er the landscape they have watched for eight long centuries.

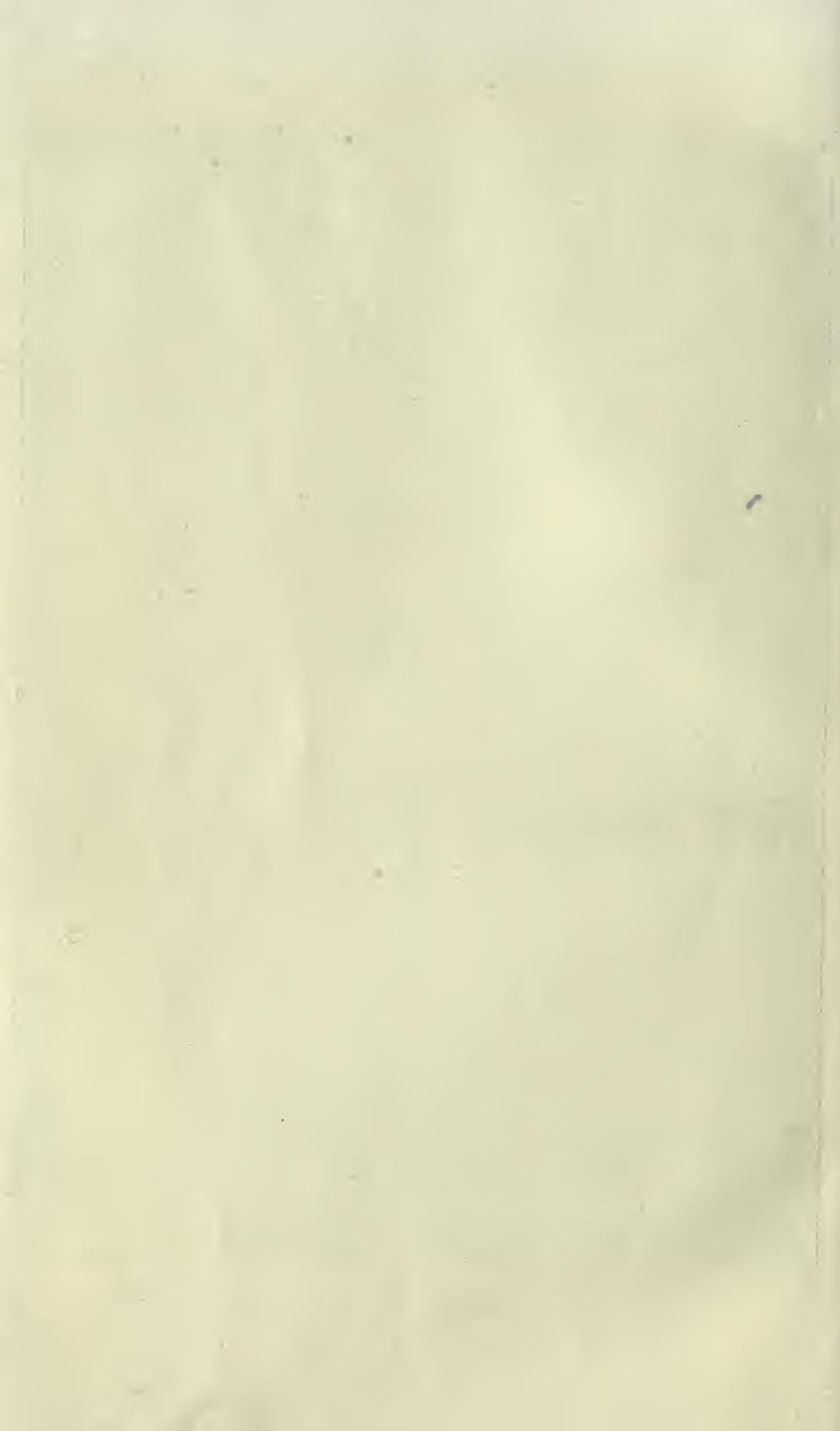
How strange the thought! The substance of those Roman tiles and stone, now vibrating under a pæan from the powerful organ, have echoed the shouts of Roman triumphs, trembled under the roar of voices from thousands of Danish pirates, thrilled with the grand Latin diapason of choirs of tonsured monks, and shaken with the crash of sculptured monuments and gilded statues overturned by Reformation iconoclasts!

Although the Abbey was comparatively stripped of its grand memorials in those sad Tudor days, there yet remain within its walls many interesting relics of bygone ages. Chapels and chantries, tombs and brasses are there, while the exquisite High-Altar screen, with its lace-like tracery and figured niches, is the admiration of all who love the chaste and beautiful in art. But what is undoubtedly the most attractive memorial of the past is the far-famed Shrine of Saint Alban, not only on account of its intrinsic architectural value and ancient sanctity, but also by reason of the marvelous vicissitudes it has undergone. It stands in the centre of the Saint's Chapel, in the very heart of the old Abbey Church, hidden by the great screen from the gaze of visitors in the presbytery; on one side of the Chapel may be seen the magnificent chantry of that unquiet prince, Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester; on the other the ancient carved oak watching-gallery, in which a silent brother kept vigilant ward in monastic times over the richest shrine in England. Through the lofty lancet arches of the remaining side a glimpse is obtained of the rich work in those eastern chapels whose



St. Alban's Shrine, St. Albans Abbey.

Photograph by F. T. Usher.



ST. ALBAN'S SHRINE.

exquisite design so well deserves the praise bestowed upon them by Sir Gilbert Scott. In its entirety the shrine originally consisted of two portions, the *feretrum*, or shrine proper, that contained the bones of the martyr, and the sub-structure or pedestal upon which it was placed. It is the pedestal only which survives.

The bones of St. Alban were miraculously discovered by King Offa in A.D. 793, and were placed by him in a reliquary or shrine adorned with gold and silver and precious stones. In the reign of King Stephen, Geoffrey de Gorham (the abbat of the monastery) made a costly shrine of silver-gilt and gems, apparently intended as a case for King Offa's reliquary; this shrine was despoiled by the next abbat, but repaired and adorned by his successor. The shrine was frescoed in silver and gold and had spires of crystal; upon it stood a monstrance of silver-gilt with the Resurrection represented in the lower part; two reliquaries, shaped like suns, with rays of silver and gold, jewelled, and containing relics, also adorned it. It was carried in processions by means of two poles.

Upon the occasion of King Edward II visiting the Abbey, the twenty-sixth abbat caused the tomb and *feretrum* of St. Alban to be removed from the place where it stood, and the marble tomb which we now see to be constructed. So wrote Thomas Walsingham in 1380, and thus we learn that the pedestal now standing in the centre of the Saint's Chapel was constructed nearly six centuries ago. At that period and for more than two hundred years afterwards, the shrine must have presented a gorgeous and imposing appearance. Upon the gilded and richly decorated marble pedestal, in whose niches the costly offerings of the pilgrims were placed, reposed the golden shrine which enclosed the bones of the saint; on either side twisted marble columns supported six torches lit on festivals, while over all a magnificent silken canopy hung suspended from the roof.

To this shrine, accounted one of the holiest in England, came kings and queens, princes, prelates, and nobles; thither flocked unnumbered thousands of humbler pilgrims, and many a sufferer from disease or accident painfully dragged himself to the sacred abode of the pitying Saint, in the hope that his misfortunes would arouse the compassion of the first British martyr. Apparently many a miracle was wrought at the shrine, and with reference to one of these Shakespeare waxes

ST. ALBAN'S SHRINE.

humorous in the Second Part of *Henry VI* (Act II), where the scene is laid at St. Albans.

But the great fabric of English Catholicism was tottering to its fall, and when the fiat of Henry VIII went forth in 1539 the monastery ceased to exist. The unrestrained zeal of the Reformers was let loose with unexampled vigour upon the Abbey, and the shrine became a special object upon which to wreak their righteous indignation. Of the costly upper portion of the shrine, the *feretrum*, we cannot trace the fate. Doubtless the gold, silver, and jewels were carefully removed and sent to replenish Henry's ever-empty exchequer, while the bones of the Saint, for so many centuries the object of the most devout veneration, were probably scattered to the winds. The iconoclasts then turned upon the pedestal of the shrine; sacrilegious hands were violently laid upon it; with a mighty crash it was levelled to the ground, and its various parts irreverently scattered, to be subsequently thrown aside as mere rubbish.

Thus perished the shrine of St. Alban, and during the succeeding centuries visitors had the former site of the far-famed shrine pointed out to them for their wondering regard. But recently, as by a miracle, it has been restored to us after a disappearance of 333 years. In 1847, while some workmen were opening a built-up archway in the Saint's Chapel, a former rector of the Abbey Church discovered a few pieces of carved marble which he believed to be parts of the lost shrine. At that time no further search was instituted, but twenty-five years later, when some extensive operations were carried out, four blocked-up arches were opened, and among the materials removed were more than two thousand pieces of Purbeck marble, which proved to be fragments of the long-lost relic.

Then occurred one of the most marvellous instances of restoration ever known; the heterogeneous mass of accumulated *débris*, under the dexterous hands of the late Mr. Micklethwaite, architect to Westminster Abbey, slowly assumed its present shape, as each piece with infinite care and judgment was fitted to the position it had occupied so long before. Remembering the fact that the shape and dimensions of the shrine were utterly unknown to the restorer, the masterly solution of so difficult a problem is worthy of our sincerest admiration.

The height of this interesting memorial is nearly 9 feet, the length also 9 feet, and the breadth a little more than

ST. ALBAN'S SHRINE.

3 feet. It stands upon two steps, and consists of a solid oblong basement upon which is a series of canopied niches, the whole surmounted by an elaborate cornice with cresting. The basement is ornamented with large quatrefoils, and is of much interest by reason of two peculiar apertures in it. One of these openings pierces the shrine from side to side near one extremity of the basement ; the second, at the other end, only reaches half way through. It is supposed that these small passages were intended for the admission of diseased limbs, or of clothes or garments to be applied to them, or to the bodies of sick persons ; a special sanctity accruing to everything which had been placed beneath the remains of the martyr.

The ten canopied niches which stand upon the basement were probably intended for the reception of votive offerings and are separated from each other by shafts and panelling ; the interiors of these recesses show traces of elaborate gilding and colouring in various devices, the lions of England and the fleurs-de-lys of France being easily discernible. Groups of finely carved foliage fill up the *tympana*, and between the pediments at the sides were three figures, two of which, probably representing Offa of Mercia and Oswin of Northumbria, have been found and replaced in position. The west end of the pediment shows the beheading of St. Alban, the east end his scourging. In the spandrel below the latter there is another representation of King Offa, who is here seen holding a church in his hand. On the north side is sculptured the figure of St. Wulfstan, who died in 1095.

The richly ornamented cornice is surmounted by the final cresting, which is undoubtedly more ancient in date than the rest of the design, and probably formed the summit of an earlier pedestal. Three twisted cable-pattern shafts stood detached on either side of the Shrine, these having been intended, it is believed, for the support of tapers or torches, whilst a small altar stood at one end furnished with a frontal of silver and gold, and before which a silver lamp was suspended. Here Mass was daily celebrated, the adjacent stone being much worn by the knees of the devout.

Such is the memorable history of St. Alban's Shrine ; as it stands to-day in the Saint's Chapel of the Abbey Church it forms a cynosure for the eyes of many hundreds of visitors, who gaze with awed admiration and wonder at this marvellously resuscitated relic of the long-past monastic ages.

THE ORIGIN OF MARKETS AND FAIRS, AND THE EARLY HISTORY OF THOSE AT LUTON.

BY WILLIAM AUSTIN.

[Continued from p. 48.]

THE chief business of Luton in the 14th and 15th centuries was malting, and the principal dealings at the fairs and market were in horses, cattle, sheep, and grain. It is said there were as many as 60 maltings in Luton. The yeomen, or small freeholders, men who farmed their own lands, and the farmers, who held leases of the abbey lands and lands of non-resident lords of manors in Luton, were a numerous and substantial body of men, and the class lowest in the scale, the agricultural labourer, of Luton was steadily but surely emerging from the condition of serfdom, to the status of the free labourer.

The Black Death of 1349 wrought terrible havoc amongst all classes of the population, but especially amongst the labouring class. Of the total population of England it is computed that more than one half were swept away by the repeated visitations of that plague. It completely dislocated the labour market, and made the labourer for the first, but only for a transient period of his history, master of the situation. The subsequent "Peasants' Revolt" brought about the Statute of Labourers, which gave birth to the Luton Statute Fair. At these fairs labourers were required to present themselves for the purpose of being hired by the farmers and landowners for the ensuing year; they were usually held annually in the month of September, but I believe in some places they were held twice a year. The "Luton Statute" was held on the second Friday after the first Monday in September, and was the great holiday and annual saturnalia of the labouring class. It lasted two days, and after the business of hiring labourers was over, the time was given up to feasting, drinking, and more or less coarse amusements. In my early boyhood I saw at the Statute Fair

MARKETS AND FAIRS.

at Luton men, boys, and even women standing on the market hill in rows to be interviewed by the farmers that terms might be arranged between master and man for the ensuing twelve months; the ploughmen sported plaited horse-hair, carters a piece of whipcord, shepherds wore a tuft of wool in their hair or on their hats, and all sported gaily coloured ribbons during the time of the fair, like newly-made recruits for the army. The men were dressed in the now almost forgotten smock frock.

There are possibly many people who think these old hiring fairs should still be kept up, but I fail to see any good or sufficient reason for the retention of an institution which was devised to keep the labourer more or less in a condition of bondage, and which lent legal sanction to drunkenness and "grievous immorality." These are not my words, I quote them from the preamble to the Fairs Act of 1871. Only recently I read an account of a hiring fair at High Wycombe, at which farmers and servants of all classes came together from Buckinghamshire, Berkshire, and Oxfordshire, and met in the ancient Guildhall of the town. From the fondness of the people of those parts for this old institution I hope and believe that this particular fair is free from the objectionable elements which have disgraced most of these fairs and brought about their abolition. In October, 1910, at Stratford-on-Avon, in connection with the Statute Fair there, 8 oxen and a dozen pigs were roasted whole in the public streets. Is it decent to keep up such a barbarous and disgusting custom simply because it is old?

Our Luton Statute Fair was abolished in 1880, mainly at the instance of the late Mr. John Cumberland. His proposal met with strenuous opposition, but those most in favour of retaining it ultimately rejoiced in its abolition.

I should have thought that Luton people had quite a sufficiency of markets and fairs at the end of the 16th century, they had:

1. A weekly market on Monday;
2. Another weekly market on Thursday;
3. A fair lasting a week, beginning on August 11;
4. A fair lasting three days, beginning on October 17;
5. The Statute Fair in September, lasting two days.

Yet early in the 17th century we find Sir Robert Napier, the then lord of the manor, applying to the Crown for a further grant. This gentleman was a wealthy merchant from

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London, who in 1601 went by the name of Robert Sandy. In that year he purchased Luton Hoo, and about 1612 he purchased from Sir John Rotherham the manor of Luton, with the markets and fairs appurtenant to it. Our Luton registers begin with the year 1603, and we find in that year and in 1605 and 1607 entries relating to three of the children of "Robert Sandie," but in the record of the burial of his first wife, in 1609, she is mentioned as "Mrs. Sandie alias Napir," and from that time the family appear under the name of Napier.

In 1611 when, it is said, King James I visited the Rotherhams at Luton, the King knighted Robert Napier, and in the following year, doubtless in consideration of a substantial loan, as such offerings were termed in those days, the King advanced the knight to the newly invented dignity of baronet. It was in 1620 that Sir Robert made his application for two more fairs for Luton. The usual and ancient writ on such occasions, the writ of *ad quod damnum*, was issued to the Sheriff of the county, who held an Inquisition at Luton on May 5, 1620; there being no good reason shown to the contrary, King James granted to his "beloved and faithful subject" two fairs in Luton, one to be held on April 24, 25, and 26, and the other on October 17, 18, and 19. It is difficult to understand why Sir Robert should have asked for the fair in October seeing that his predecessor, Hugh de Mortimer, had received from Edward III in 1337 the grant of a fair on those same three days. It is possible that the fair had been discontinued and the charter forgotten.

The charter of King James was characteristic of the man, it was extremely verbose. I have a copy of it and it is six times as long as any of the older charters. In it we have the first express mention of a Court of "Pie Poudre," or, as it is more commonly written, "Piepowder." In the earlier charters it was never thought necessary to mention this court, as it was always considered a necessary adjunct to both markets and fairs, but King James thought he knew more than his Chief Justice, Sir Edward Coke, or any other lawyer, and in his legal documents he decided that nothing was to be assumed, but all details must be fully set out. Sir Edward told him "he might be King of England, but he did not know English law."

The Court of Piepowder was so general throughout the country that it deserves some consideration. It was the most

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inferior but at the same time the most expeditious and summary court known to our English system; and although it was the lowest court, its jurisdiction was unlimited in the amount at issue. The name of the court has had two derivations assigned to it, one signifying "the court of the dusty footed," and the other "the court of the pedlars." Blackstone says it was derived from the dusty feet of its suitors, while Coke says it was so named because justice was done as speedily as dust can fall from the foot. The better derivation, however, is that it came from an old French word signifying a pedlar, and goes back to the time when much of the internal trade of Europe was done by the pedlars. The court was instituted to administer justice for all commercial and other injuries connected with a market or fair, and at one time it was essential that the injury should have been done, complained of, heard and determined, within the time of the duration of the market or fair. Blackstone says that the reason of the institution of these courts seems to have been to do justice expeditiously among the variety of persons from distant places that resort to the market and fair, since it is certain that no other inferior court might be able to serve its process or execute its judgements on the parties there and then. The jurisdiction of these courts extended to all contracts, covenants, debts, trespasses, assaults, disturbances, and even slanders spoken in the market or fair concerning wares exposed for sale, but not slanders of the person. The person who presided over the court was the steward of the manor, or, in places where the market was not appurtenant to the manor, the steward of the owners of the market.

In these courts was administered the *Lex Mercatoria*, or the "custom of merchants," a vast body of unwritten laws, rules, and observances, the acquisition of a knowledge of which formed part of the necessary training of every person engaged in trade in any considerable degree. It is small wonder that the term of apprenticeship in old times was seven years. The law merchant was recognized all over Europe, with, of course, variations peculiar to certain districts. It was not until the time of Lord Chancellor Eldon that the principal features of the *Lex Mercatoria* were incorporated in the Statutes of England.

I do not know of any other country where records of the proceedings of these courts have been preserved so well as in England. The Selden Society has published some extremely

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valuable and interesting specimens of such records, a transcript of the original record in Latin on one page and the translation into modern English on the opposite page. I have extracted a few, which, if they cannot be said to be important, are, at any rate, curious, and, I think, interesting.

In 1320 Alice Balle was fined 3*d.* for that she "defamed" the lord's corn so that the lord could not find a market for the same.

Some 30 years earlier John Trukke was fined 4*s.* because he bought a drowned cow and sold it in the market in little pieces.

The Chandlers of Norwich were fined for making an agreement among themselves that none of them should sell a pound of candles at less than another.

In 1313 eighteen cooks were fined in the fair for having "warmed up meat, fish and pasties after the second or third day."

In 1288 men were convicted of selling "sausages and puddings made of measly pigs, unfit for human bodies."

In 1275 Thomas of Wells complained of Adam Garsop for unjustly detaining a coffer which the said Adam sold him for 6*d.*, whereof he paid Adam 2*d.* and a drink in advance, and when he offered the balance Adam would not take the balance but kept the coffer. Adam was ordered to make restitution and to pay a fine of 6*d.* and as security for payment his overcoat was detained as a pledge.

This element of providing pledges was almost indispensable, and, failing any other pledge, the man himself was detained in many cases, but not infrequently, if the offender was very poor, the court remitted the penalty and let the man go "because he is poor." It was also a common practice in cases of dispute, where temper or drink had led to an alleged breach of contract or to an assault, that the court adjourned the case for a few hours or till the next day that the parties "might make concord." In the case of a young offender, "John son of William son of Agnes of Lynn, who was only 10 years of age, convicted of stealing a purse near the foot of the bridge, because he is too young to be punished, it is awarded that he abjure the vill and the fair."

Vintners were often in trouble in these courts. One John Penrose was convicted of selling red wine that was unsound and unwholesome. He was ordered to drink a draught of

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it, to have the rest poured over his head, and to be deprived of his calling of a vintner.

In Pollock and Maitland's *History of English Law* we read that if there was but one dissentient juror his words might be disregarded and he might be fined. In the records from which I have been quoting there is an illustration of this in the year 1312. William, Richard's son, had been summoned on the jury on a certain case, and he "fraudulently and wickedly would not agree with his eleven fellows, wherefore he is fined 20*d*."

Cases of breach of warranty were often brought before these courts. In the year 1312 "John of Reading sold to Robert of Bedford two bales of licorice and warranted it as good and pure, and Robert found it was not so good and pure as the sample." The jury was ordered to be summoned to inquire whether by the Law-merchant the licorice ought to be forfeited to the king.

There was a curious case of breach of contract tried at the Court of Piepowder at St. Ives in 1288.

John son of John complained of Roger the Barber that on Monday he undertook to cure John's head of baldness for 9*d*., which sum John paid in advance. The next day, Tuesday, Roger put John's head in plaster and did likewise on Wednesday, and then left the town without having effected the cure. Roger was summoned on Saturday and appeared but withdrew from the Court without leave. Wherefore it was adjudged that the barber make restitution of the 9*d*. and pay a fine of 6*d*.

In Bartholomew Fair Court of Piepowder there was a case which I suppose would come under the head of assault. An action was brought by a performing fire-eater against one of his spectators who had nearly suffocated the fire-eater by suddenly clapping a bunch of lighted matches under his nose. The court fined the defendant a guinea and ordered him to quit the fair.

An interesting feature of these courts was that justice was done from day to day and even from hour to hour while the fair continued. In a case in the Court of Piepowder at Colchester in 1458 a plaintiff sued at 8 o'clock in the morning for a debt of over £60. The defendant was summoned to appear at 9. He did not come, so the officer of the court was ordered to distrain him to appear at 10, and again at 11, and

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at 12 o'clock, when, the defendant still failing to appear, judgement was given in the plaintiff's favour. The defendant's goods were seized, and the appraisers of the court made their report at 4 o'clock that the value of the goods was £61 14s., whereupon the said goods were delivered to the plaintiff.

In commercial transactions there is frequent mention of a very ancient custom, the payment of a "God's penny," sometimes of a farthing only, and often of "a drink," as an earnest of the bargain and to "seal the contract."

The summoning of a jury to try cases in these courts was almost as simple as that adapted by Boaz, as described in the last chapter of the Book of Ruth, but if the dispute involved a nice question of the Law Merchant, the selection of the jury was made with much greater care than we observe in these days, even in our selection of special juries. If the dispute was between two foreigners in the fair the jury was, if practicable, composed of foreigners; if one was a foreigner and the other an Englishman, one half of the jury were foreigners and the other Englishmen.

Let me give you a few judgements recorded in our Luton Courts.

In the reign of Henry VIII John Crawley was fined for buying sheep in Luton Market and selling them again in the same market.

In 1455 William Grenefeld of Luton, who is a common brewer, broke the assize of ale, therefore he is fined 4*d*. At the same court John Wellys was fined for the same offence; and John Dabrou, because he brewed and broke the assize, is fined 2*d*. This offence was as old as our Saxon laws. In the reign of Edward the Confessor a brewer was ordered to stand in a dung-cart in the market-place of Chester for this offence. In 1267 the assize was that when the price of a quarter of barley was under 2*s*. the brewer must sell in towns 2 gallons of ale for a penny and in country places 3 gallons for a penny.

Our Luton records contain repeated instances of men being fined for the offences of "forestalling" and "regrating." In 1455 Thomas Fuller and Richard Godfrey were fined because they were "regraters of beer." In the same records we find cases of trespass and of poaching. Richard Long and Henry Sternell were each fined 20*d*. for fishing in the fishpool called "Bury Mill Pond," which was a part of the river lying between the present Primitive Methodist Chapel and the electricity works. In the reign of Henry VI William-atte-Welle was

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fined for assault, or "for unjustly drawing the blood of William Grenefield 3s. 4d."—"Tapping his claret," I think we should have called it when I was a boy.

The grant of the franchise of a market cast upon the owner of the market certain obligations, such as the provision of the necessary stalls and booths. In many Court Rolls will be found records of services to be performed by tenants of the manor to cut from the lord's woods sufficient boughs, to carry the same to the market-place, and erect there the toll and other booths, shops, and stalls, for the lord's fair. I think the decoration of the entrance to our Corn Exchange with green boughs on the annual Court Leet day is a survival of such a custom in Luton. It was also obligatory on the lord of the manor to provide the pillory and stocks. There are many entries in the Assize Rolls of owners of markets being called to account for the neglect of these things. In such cases it was generally found that the lord, for the increase of his revenue, fined offenders, when they ought to have been put in the pillory. There were several such cases in Bedfordshire, but I have not found one in respect of Luton. In some cases the owner lost his franchise, but generally speaking he escaped with a fine and a caution.

I will leave the subject here. If I were to pursue it I should have to write of the Straw Plait Market of Luton which has been already described by such men as the late Mr. Charles Knight. I should have to tell you of the Lease of the Tolls and the erection of the Corn Exchange and of the Plait Halls; and I should have to refer to the creation of the present cattle market; to the Public Inquiry held by an Inspector of the Local Government Board in 1882, and to another Public Inquiry held by one of the Assistants of the Royal Commission on Markets and Fairs in 1887; and lastly to the Luton Corporation Act of 1911, which gave legal force to an agreement between Sir Julius Wernher, Bart., lord of the manor of Luton, and the Corporation, for the transfer of the ancient Markets and Fairs of Luton to that body. Under existing municipal laws many Corporations can acquire a market, but not a fair; "every fair is a market, but every market is not a fair."

ON THE OBSOLETE CUSTOM OF TOUCHING FOR THE KING'S EVIL.

BY CORNELIUS NICHOLLS.

IN this ancient though now obsolete ceremonial the Sovereign, by virtue of his anointing in the Coronation Service, was believed to be invested with a divine gift of healing, and the Church service, still extant, used on the occasion, gives, as will be shown, ample proof of the acknowledgement and assumption of such power both by Church and King. After the time of Edward the Confessor this claim seems to have been limited to certain specified diseases, namely, that known as "King's Evil," or scrofula, the "Falling Sickness," or epilepsy, and the curing of "Cramp" by means of consecrated or "hallowed" rings of gold and silver.

We now marvel at the credulity of our ancestors, still unwarned by St. Augustine's description of the miracles of his own day, thus classed under two heads, (1) *Figmenta mendacium hominum*, rendered by Fuller "forgeries of lying men," (2) *Portenta fallacium spirituum*, "prodigies of deceitful devils." Like the old Church historian on another occasion,¹ (although he firmly believed in the "Royal Touch") we find ourselves "divided between several actions at once: 1. *To frown* at the impudency of the first inventors of such impossible untruths. 2. *To smile* at the simplicity of the believers of them. 3. *To sigh* at the well intended devotion abused of them. 4. *To thank God* that we live in times of better and brighter knowledge." Nevertheless the "Healing" continued to be practised on rich and poor alike, as late as and during the reign of Queen Anne; the Church service for the same, though somewhat modified from that of former ages, being printed in the Prayer Books of her reign.

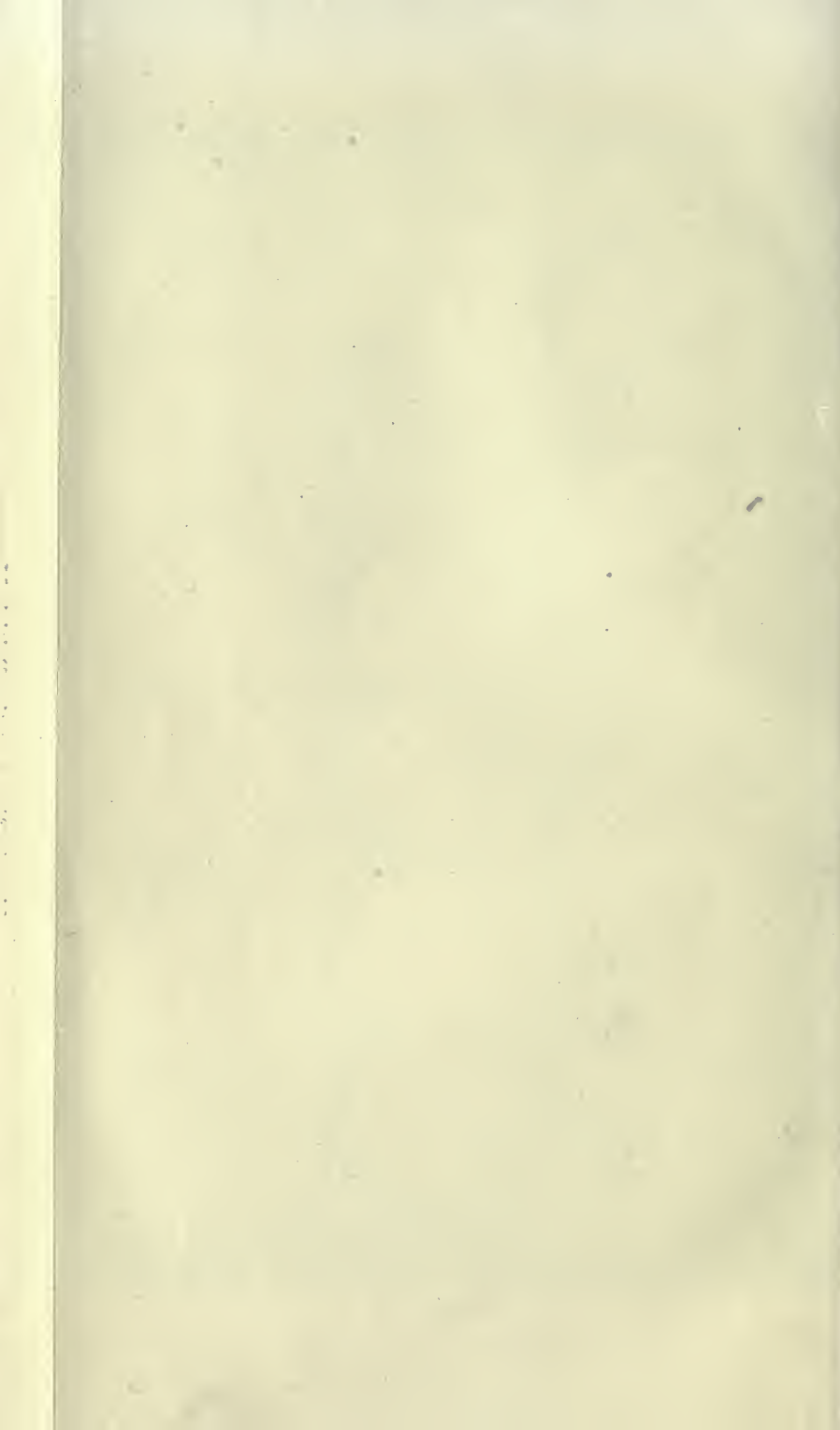
The sacred character of anointed kings was authoritatively stated by Bishop Lyndwood, early in the 15th century, in his book on Canon Law, a work which, according to Fuller, "will be valued by the judicious whilst learning and civility have a being." Not all kings, however, were thus invested, as we find

¹ The Miracles of St. Rumwald; Fuller's *Worthies*, p. 195.



Touch-Pieces at the British Museum.

- 1. James I.
- 2. Charles I.
- 3. Charles II.
- 4. James II.
- 5. Anne.
- 6. "James III" (The Old Pretender).
- 7. "Charles III" (The Young Pretender).
- 8. "Henry IX" (Cardinal York).



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by Selden, who, in his *Titles of Honour*, tells us that "there were antiently but four anointed besides the Emperours, that is, the Kings of Hierusalem, of France, of England, and of Sicily." The priestly character attached to kings at their inauguration is picturesquely described by Froissart in his account of the coronation of Henry IV when the ceremony was performed by two Archbishops and ten Bishops. "Previous to his anointing, he was stripped of all his royal splendour naked to his shirt, before the altar. After being anointed in six places, they then placed a bonnet on his head, and while this was doing the clergy chaunted the litany, or the service that is performed to hallow a font. The King was now dressed in a churchman's clothes like a Deacon, and they put on him shoes of crimson velvet, after the manner of a Priest. They then added spurs with a point, but no rowel, and the sword of justice was drawn, blessed and delivered to the King, who put it into the scabbard, when the Archbishop of Canterbury girded it about him. The crown of St. Edward, which is arched over like a cross, was next brought and blessed, and placed by the Archbishop on the King's head."¹ In the anointing which now forms part of the Coronation ceremony the King's ancient claim of spiritual jurisdiction is still picturesquely suggested by the priestly vestments worn on the occasion.

Although "Touching for the King's Evil" in England is supposed to have originated with Edward the Confessor, it has been doubted if the cure of this particular malady was really among the many miracles ascribed to him. That for which the king seems to have been especially noted being rather the cure of blindness, or, as the *Golden Legend* has it: "Saynt Powle writeth that the Holy Ghost giveth graces diversely; to some he giveth wisdom, to some cunning, and to some grace to heal and to cure sick people. But this blessed King Saint Edward had a special grace above others in giving sight to blind men." Nevertheless, the belief in the Confessor's power over this disease was general, as is shown by Shakespeare's reference to it in *Macbeth*. This occurs in the scene described as "*England, before the King's Palace*":

Malcolm.—Comes the King forth, I pray you?

Doctor.—Ay, Sir; there are a crew of wretched souls

¹ Froissart, *Chronicle*, vol. iv, p. 671.

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That stay his cure : their malady convinces ¹
The great assay of art ; but at his touch,
Such sanctity hath heaven given his hand,
They presently amend.

Malcolm.—I thank you, Doctor.

[*Exit* DOCTOR.]

Macduff.—What's the disease he means ?

Malcolm.—'Tis called the Evil :

A most miraculous work in the good King ;
Which often, since my here remain in England,
I have seen him do. How he solicits heaven
Himself best knows : but strangely-visited people,
All swoln and ulcerous, pitiful to the eye,
The mere despair of surgery, he cures ;
Hanging a golden stamp about their necks,
Put on with holy prayers ; and, 'tis spoken
To the succeeding royalty he leaves
The healing benediction. With this strange virtue
He hath a heavenly gift of prophecy ;
And sundry blessings hang about his throne
That speak him full of grace.

But, as has been said, the accepted version as to the origin of this long established tradition has not always remained unquestioned, but has been ascribed chiefly to the implicit reliance once placed on the statement of William of Malmesbury in his *Life of the Confessor*. This historian wrote about 80 years after the King's death, and it has been pointed out that concerning the cure of this disease so fully recorded by him (and which is quoted further on) no mention is made by the historians who preceded him. The evidence on this point is given very fully by the writer of a treatise entitled "An Enquiry into the Antiquity and Efficacy of Touching for the Cure of the King's Evil."²

The author shows, that though among the early historians, Ingulphus was living during the King's reign, and knew him personally—that Florence of Worcester and Marianus Scotus preceded the time of William of Malmesbury, none of these make any mention of this miracle. Also that the Bull of Pope Alexander III granting the Confessor's canonization, about 200 years after his death, is silent as to this presumed gift of healing. "However (he continues) the instance of the

¹ Convinces, conquers.

² An Epistle by William Beckett, Surgeon and F.R.S., inscribed to Dr. Steigertall, Physician to King George I (1722).

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curing of this disease, as related by William of Malmesbury, being repeated by a person of high authority in the Church (Peter of Blois, chaplain to Henry II) in process of time gained so much credit that it was at length most certainly put in practice, for in the *Computus Hospitii* of Edward I, preserved among the Records of the Tower, I have frequently seen it mentioned, with the small sums of money the King gave his patients at their departure."

Notwithstanding the presumed transmission of the Confessor's gift "to the succeeding royalty," there were occasional lapses, and various explanations are given regarding these. Of William the Conqueror and Rufus it is suggested that they were too much occupied with killing those who were well. They manipulated the sword, the lance, and the wine cup, but carefully eschewed the company of the sick.¹ The same author expresses an opinion as to Henry III, that "there can be no doubt he revived or invented the Royal Saint's gift of Healing." Various ancient authorities have been cited to show that this ceremony was performed by Henry II and by the Plantagenets generally. John of Gaddesden, in the reign of Edward II, writing on the subject of scrofula and the manner of treating it, adds: *Si hæc non sufficient vadat ad Regem ut eum tangat atque benedicat: quia iste morbus vocatur regis: et ad hunc valet contractus serenissimi regis Anglorum.* But perhaps the most curious confirmation of the practice in early ages is afforded by an announcement made to the Republic of Venice by the Ambassador of Edward III. The document containing this is described as a contemporary minute registered on parchment:

King Edward calls upon Philip de Valois, styling himself King of France, occupying Normandy, the greater and more fertile parts of the duchy of Aquitaine, and the counties of Anjou, Saintonge *cum insulis*, and of Pontoise, in Picardy, all which from time out of mind appertained to the Kingdom of England, to fight a pitched battle. But for the avoidance of reproach hereafter on account of so much Christian bloodshed, he at the commencement of the war offered to settle the dispute either by single combat, or with a band of six or eight, or any number he pleased on each side; or that if he be the true King of France, as asserted by him, he should stand the test of braving ravenous lions, who

¹ Miss Strickland's *Lives of the Queens—Anne.*

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in no wise harm a true King, or perform the miracle of Touching for the Evil; if unable, to be considered unworthy of the Kingdom of France. Dated April 27, 1340.¹

Passing over those reigns not furnishing details on the subject, we get a firm historical footing in that of Henry VII, where, in a record of the money used at the "Healing," is a disbursement of 20s. by John Heron "for heling 3 seke folk," and another of 13s. 4d. "for heling 2 seek folk," these coins evidently being Angel Nobles of the value of 6s. 8d. each.²

In addition to this evidence there still exists the ancient Order of Service, printed from the original MS. by command of James II.³ It is here set forth that, after certain prayers, the chaplain reads from St. Mark's Gospel, ending at the words, "They shall impose hands upon the sick, and they shall be whole." The Rubric then proceeds:

Which last clause the Chaplain repeats as long as the King is handling the sick person, and in the time of repeating the aforesaid words the Clerk of the Closet shall kneel before the King, having the sick person upon the right hand; and the sick person shall likewise kneel before the King: and then the King shall lay his hand upon the sore of the sick person. This done the Chaplain shall make an end. Whilst this is reading the Chirurghion shall lead away the sick person from the King. After short prayers, the King responding, the Chaplain reads from St. John's Gospel, "In the beginning," &c., down to "Every man that cometh into the world." Which last clause ("It was the true light," &c.) shall be repeated as long as the King shall be crossing the sore of the sick person with an Angel of Gold Noble, and the sick person to have the said Angel hang'd about his neck, and to wear it until he be full whole. The Chirurghion shall lead away the sick person as he did before, and then the Chaplain shall make an end of the Gospel. After the sick persons be departed from the King at his pleasure, this prayer following is to be said secretly:—

Almighty God, Ruler and Lord, by whose goodness the blind see, the deaf hear, the dumb speak, the lepers are cleansed, and all sick persons are healed of their in-

¹ *Calendar of Venetian State Papers*, vol. i, p. 8.

² *Pegge's Curialia*.

³ And used by him, as appears by the imprint—London: Printed by Henry Hill, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, for his Household and Chappell, 1680.

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firmities: By whom also alone the Gift of Healing is given to mankind, and so great a grace thro' thine unspeakable goodness towards this realm is granted unto the Kings thereof, that by the sole imposition of their hands, a most grievous and filthy disease should be cured: Mercifully grant that we may give thee thanks therefore, and for this thy singular benefit conferred on Us, not to Ourselves but to thy name let us daily give glory. And grant that on whose bodies soever We have Imposed Hands in thy name thro' this Virtue working in them, and thro' our ministry, may be restored to their former health, and being confirmed therein, may perpetually with Us give thanks unto thee the Chief Physician and Healer of all diseases, and that henceforth they may so lead their lives, as not their bodies only from sickness, but their souls also from sin may be perfectly purged and cured.

From this time (excepting perhaps the reign of Edward VI, and certainly that of William and Mary) the ceremony seems to have been observed by successive monarchs, and especially, with the greatest faith and devotion, by Queen Mary. The Venetian Ambassador in his report to the Senate, thus describes the scene as witnessed by him in the year 1556: "In a gallery an altar was raised: she knelt there, repeated the confession, received absolution from the Legate: and touched, nay, pressed with compassionate devotion the sores of twenty scrofulous persons, male and female, presenting them with hallowed golden angels which she hung about their necks."¹

This "compassionate devotion" of Queen Mary was hardly shared by Elizabeth, of whom it is recorded that during a Progress in Gloucestershire, being solicited by applicants for the Royal Touch, she exclaimed, "Alas, poor people, I cannot cure you; it is God alone who can do it." Nevertheless it seems that subsequently she fell in with the custom of previous reigns. So also did James I, who, like Elizabeth, objected to the ceremony, saying that, "neither he nor any other King can have power to heal Scrofula, for the age of miracles is past, and God alone can work them." However, he ordered the full ceremony to take place, "so as not to lose this prerogative which belongs to the Kings of England as Kings of France."²

¹ Cited in Dixon's *History of the Church of England*, vol. iv, p. 568

² *Calendar of Venetian State Papers*, 1603.

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The practice continued to grow in favour under the House of Stuart; not only did Charles I perform the "Healing" during his lifetime, but many reputed cures were effected after his death by the blood which many people collected on handkerchiefs at the time of his execution. A long list of these cures is given in *Charisma Basilicon*, a work written by Dr. John Brown, "Chirurgion" to Charles II. But all accounts of the rapidly growing popularity of this ceremony are exceeded by the reports of the frenzied rush made for this privilege after the Restoration. Registers kept by the Serjeant of his Majesty's Chapel Royal, and by the Keeper of his Majesty's Closet, give a total for the whole reign of no less than 92,000. So great were the multitudes of applicants that, previous to the issue of special regulations, many people were crushed to death. These regulations also became necessary to prevent fraud, for apparently the "Angel Noble" caused almost as many cases of King's Evil as it was intended to cure. This is amusingly illustrated by an advertisement in the *Parliamentary Journal* of July 9, 1660:

The Kingdom having been for a long time troubled with the King's Evil, owing to His Majesties absence, great numbers have lately flocked for cure. His sacred Majesty on Monday last, touched 250 in the Banqueting House, among whom, when his Majesty was delivering the gold, one shuffled himself in out of a hope of profit, which had not been stroked, but his Majesty presently discovered him, saying "this man has not yet been touched." His Majesty hath for the future appointed every Friday for the cure, at which time 200 and no more are to be presented to him, who are first to repair to Mr. Knight, the King's Surgeon, living at the Cross Guns, in Russell Street, Covent Garden, over against the Rose Tavern, for their Tickets. That none might lose their labour, he thought fit to make it known that he will be at his house every Wednesday and Thursday, from two till six of the clock to attend that service, and if any person of quality shall send to him he will wait upon them at their lodgings upon notice given.

We must not, however, suppose that, even in the wildest days of this superstition, all people were agreed as to the efficacy of the King's "Touch." This seems apparent from the following allusion to the ceremony by so shrewd an observer as Pepys, who, writing in his Diary on April 13, 1661, makes the following entry:



Charles II touching for the King's Evil.

From an old print.



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I went to the Banquet-house, and there saw the King heal, the first time that ever I saw him do it; which he did with great gravity, and it seemed to me to be an ugly office and a simple one.

In the contemporary engraving illustrating this scene¹ the King (Charles II) is represented sitting on a raised dais, with the Royal Arms at the back of a canopy. A patient kneels before him, supported on either side by the "Chirurgions," bishops, and clergy, holding open books, to the right hand of the King, Lords and Ladies to the left. Below the dais, ranged on each side of the Hall, are men and women in various attitudes of suffering, kept in line by Yeomen of the Guard, holding pikes in their hands. There are also some children and a much interested dog in the foreground.

Many of these diseased people were no doubt suffering from disorders of various kinds, for correct diagnosis was doubtful in the early days of the medical profession. Thus in a curious treatise published in the year 1598, we find the following advice given to physicians by a celebrated surgeon of that day:²

Chirurgions must know the opposition and the conjunction of the moone and in what signe the moone is in every day, and to know what signes bee attractive, what signes bee retractive, what signes bee expulsive. Also they must know the operation of all manner of bread, of drinckes, and of meates. And to have ever in readiness their instruments and their salves, and their oyntments, and in perillous causes one Chirurgion ought to consult with another, and to have the counsell of a doctor of physick, for there is no man can be too sure to help a man, as God knoweth, who keep us all.

Well might it then have been said, quite seriously :

A single Doctor like a sculler plies,
The patient lingers, and then slowly dies ;
But two Physicians, like a pair of oars,
Shall waft him quickly to the Stygian shores.

In varying but decreasing numbers candidates for the Royal Touch continued (except during the reign of William and Mary) to the end of that of Queen Anne. It is supposed (says Miss Strickland, in her life of this Queen), that "Queen Anne resumed the ceremony in order to assert her claim as

¹ See plate.

² *The Breviarie of Health*, by Dr. Andrew Boord.

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heiress of both Plantagenet and Stuart rights, and also in rivalry to her brother, who performed the Healing at St. Germain's, where many people made pilgrimages to seek the Touch of the disinherited heir." The Queen's most illustrious patient was the child who, in spite of the disease which neither the Royal Touch nor any doctor ever cured, grew up and became the celebrated Dr. Samuel Johnson. We read¹ that "Mrs. Johnson committed her young Goliath to the care of a poor woman soon after his birth; and with the milk of his nursing mother he imbibed a scrophulous disease, the effects of which were visible through life; and (though not a superstitious person) said that the hand of her Gracious Mistress cured her infant. I do not know whether the piece of gold that was given him by her Majesty was thought worthy of being preserved by its master. I have seen it since the Doctor's death in the hands of Sir John Hawkins."

In connection with the above statement we notice that in the British Museum copy of the *Charisma Basilicon*, previously alluded to, there is inserted a very faded MS. note, dated 1798, to the following effect: "Dr. Johnson left the original Touch piece that Queen Anne hung round his neck at the time of her Majesty touching him, to Dr. Taylor, Prebend of Westminster. At his death he left it to the Duke of Devonshire, in whose possession it now is.—Mem. 1798."²

Innumerable are the extravagances that have gathered about this ancient superstition, and wonderful has been the vitality of its practice and the passionate adherence to their belief by its more educated votaries. Even the Church historian previously quoted from, who in the case of another ancient superstition was divided between his *frowns*, his *smiles*, and his *sighs*, could pray concerning the "Touch" of his royal master "That if it be the will of God to visit me whose body hath the seeds of all sickness, and soul of all sins, with the aforesaid malady, I may have the favour to be touched of his Majesty, the happiness to be healed by him, and the thankfulness to be grateful to God the author and God's image the instrument of my recovery."³

That many sufferers from this disease did for a time appear cured is, considering much disinterested evidence, quite obvious, but even so, what more did kings, with their powerful

¹ *Gents. Mag.*, 1785.

² It is now in the British Museum.
³ Fuller's *Church History*, vol. i, p. 386.

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surroundings of Church and State, than (to cite but one example) that arch impostor of the 18th century known to us as the Count Cagliostro. Moreover, this man did not confine his healing to certain specified diseases; he healed them all. There seems to be no one special theory to account adequately for these things. "They have their day and cease to be"; and if this superstition had a very long day, we may consider, in the first place, the state of society in the early ages of the practice, and later on, the powerful effect produced by the united interest of Church and King, supported by the medical profession and the "Angel Noble."

The presentation of the gold coin, subsequently known as the Touch-piece, seems to have become general from the time of Henry VII, the Angel Noble being the coin used. A special issue of Angels for this ceremony was made by James I. These were ready pierced and strung with a white silk ribbon to hang round the patients' necks. At the Restoration, when the Angels had ceased to be coined, a piece similar in type, but not to be used for currency, was ordered by Charles II. They are designated "Touch-pieces," and have for type the previous coin used, a ship being represented on the obverse and St. Michael slaying the Dragon on the reverse. There were, however, occasions when stress of circumstances necessitated the use of silver instead of gold for use in this ceremony. Charles I in his troubles could often get neither the one nor the other and occasionally used copper. James II used silver Touch-pieces, as also did his son Prince James, under the style of James III, Prince Charles Edward, and later, Henry IX, Cardinal York.

THE CONFESSOR'S CURE OF THE KING'S EVIL AS RELATED BY WILLIAM OF MALMESBURY

A young woman had married a husband of her own age, but having no issue by the union; the humours collecting about her neck, she had contracted a sore disorder; the glands swelling in a dreadful manner. Admonished in a dream to have the part affected washed by the King, she entered the palace, and the King himself fulfilling this labour of love, rubbed the woman's neck with his fingers dipped in water. Joyous health followed his healing hand: the lurid skin opened, so that worms flowed out with the purulent matter, and the tumour subsided. But as the orifice of the ulcers was large and unsightly, he commanded her to be supported at the royal expense

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till she should be perfectly cured. However, before a week was expired, a fair, new skin returned, and hid the scars so completely, that nothing of the original wound could be discovered; and within a year becoming the mother of twins she increased the admiration of Edward's holiness. Those who knew him more intimately, affirm that he often cured this complaint in Normandy: whence appears how false is their notion, who in our times assert, that the cure of this disease does not proceed from personal sanctity, but from hereditary virtue in the royal line.—(Sharpe's Translation, p. 283.)

THE HAYMARKET, LONDON, HISTORICAL AND ANECDOTAL.

BY J. HOLDEN MACMICHAEL, author of *The Story of Charing Cross*.

[Continued from p. 56.]

CHAPTER VI.

THE crocodile's tears which Colonel Panton, after whom Panton Street and Panton Square, were named, is said to have shed over his gambling sins, would wear a more pathetic look if, when he retired from the gambling business, the proceeds had been devoted to some more worthy object than himself. One writer sees in him "the reformed gambler of a rare type—a man who having won a huge fortune at cards, refused ever after to risk money on a game of chance." This is "bunkum." The hero of Shaver's Hall probably himself had no aspirations to such tombstone virtues, although he may have masqueraded in them.

There was, in fact, no game of cards at which this scoundrel was not "an absolute artist—either upon the Square or foul Play—English Ruff and Honours, Whist, French Ruff, Gleck, L'Ombre, Lanterloo, Bankasalet, Beast, Basset, Brag, Picquet, Verquere, Tick-tack, Grand Trick-Track, Irish, and Back-Gammon, Inn and Inn, Passage and Draught, Billiards, Chess, and the fatal Hazard."¹ It is said that one night he won enough money to purchase an estate of £1,500 a year. This may be so, but unless he was an egregious ass, he could

¹ *Memoirs of the Gamesters*, by Theophilus Lucas, 1714, pp. 67-8, where there will be found evidence as to his personal character.

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hardly have prided himself upon anything but his astuteness in acquiring such an ample fortune, or upon his sagacity in sticking to it.

Panton Square is now Arundel Street, so called, like Wardour Street, from the Lords Arundel of Wardour—or rather from Henry, third Lord Arundel of Wardour, a steady adherent to the cause of King James II. The association of the street names of Panton Square and Arundel Street is further to be noted by the circumstance of Henry, the fifth Lord Arundel, having married Elizabeth, daughter of Colonel Panton. Colonel Panton's connection with Piccadilly Hall, as its last proprietor, will be noticed anon.

The Union Arms, No. 26, Panton Street, was kept at the beginning of the last century by Cribb, the prize-fighter, and here John Hauptman, a celebrated dwarf, died (?) October 31, 1829, aged thirty-seven, having been shown about the country about ten years before. He had become very fat previous to his death and of very lethargic habits. His death was occasioned by the rupture of a blood-vessel. He was about three feet five inches high, and used to wait upon the customers in the parlour. Hauptman and Nanette Stocker, with whom he was exhibited, are engraved full length, side by side, in Kirby's *Wonderful Museum*, 1820.

ON SEEING CRIBB'S NEW HOUSE, THE UNION ARMS, PANTON STREET.

The Champion, I see, is again on the list,
His standard—"The Union Arms ;"
His customers still he will serve with his fist,
But without creating alarms.
Instead of a *floorer* he tips them a glass,
Divested of joking or fib;
Then, "Lads of the Fancy," don't Tom's house pass,
But take a hand at the game of Cribb.¹

John Britton relates in his *Autobiography* how, in the winter of 1799, he was engaged by a Mr. Chapman, at three guineas a week, to write, recite, and sing for him, at a theatre in Panton Street, Haymarket. That gentleman had assisted De Louthembourg in preparing and exhibiting his "Eidophusikon," which had proved very effective. The scenes and machinery were purchased by Chapman to combine with other objects for an evening entertainment. De Louthembourg

¹ *Tavern Anecdotes*, 1825, p. 264.

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was scene painter to Covent Garden Theatre ; he fitted up a small theatre in Panton Street, and conferred on it the mysterious name of the "Eidophusikon." Here he exhibited some exquisite paintings of scenery, both stationary and in motion, with the varied effects of sunshine and gloom ; morn, mid-day, and night ; thunder, lightning, rain, hail, and snow. Of this original exhibition W. H. Pyne, in his *Wine and Walnuts*, says that it delighted and astonished the public and the artists who visited it in crowds. Sir Joshua Reynolds frequently visited and strongly recommended it, while Gainsborough was so delighted with it that he could talk of nothing else, passing many evenings at the theatre, of which the stage was little more than six feet wide, and about eight feet deep. Such was the painter's knowledge of effect and the scientific arrangement, however, that the space appeared to recede for many miles. His horizon, indeed, seemed as palpably distant from the eye as the extreme termination of the view would appear in nature. A view from One Tree Hill, Greenwich Park, represented on one side Flamstead House, and below, Greenwich Hospital, cut out of pasteboard, and painted with architectural correctness. Large groups of trees, with painted views of Greenwich and Deptford and the metropolis beyond, from Chelsea to Poplar. The intermediate flat space represented the river crowded with shipping, each mass being cut out in pasteboard, and receding in size by the perspective of their distance. A foreground was entirely represented by miniature models in cork ; the whole shown at morning, twilight, and under the effect of gradual daybreak, increasing to broad sunshine. The clouds in every scene had a natural motion, and they were painted in semi-transparent colours, so that they not only received light in front, but by a greater intensity of the argand lamps employed, were susceptible of being illuminated from behind. The linen on which they were painted was stretched on frames of twenty times the surface of the stage, and rose diagonally by a winding machine. De Louthembourg excelled in representing the phenomena of clouds. The lamps were above the scene, and hidden from the audience—a far better plan than the foot-lights of a theatre. Before the line of brilliant lamps on the stage of the Eidophusikon were slips of stained glass—yellow, red, green, purple, and blue ; thereby representing different times of the day, and giving a hue of cheerfulness, sublimity, or gloom, to the various scenes.

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"A Storm at Sea," with the loss of the Halsewell Indiaman is said to have been awful and astonishing; for the conflict of the raging elements was represented with all the characteristic horrors of wind, hail, thunder, lightning, and the roaring of the waves, with such a marvellous imitation of nature that mariners declared, whilst viewing the scene, that it seemed a reality.¹

The Geneva Arms and Bunch of Grapes was apparently what is now called an Italian warehouse. It was at the corner of Panton Street, and under this sign were sold all sorts of wines, oil, olives, jessamine oil for perfume, and "anchova's" [*sic*], wholesale and retail, orange trees, jessamine, and tuberose roots.²

The puppet, no less than the dwarf, was the vogue for those sightseers who sought quiet amusement, far from the madding crowd at Charing Cross. Puppets were exhibited in Panton Street in 1772, and were visited by persons of distinction, among whom the vagrant punchinello had probably become associated almost exclusively with the joys in childhood. Both Burke and Goldsmith saw the puppets in Panton Street, and when the former praised the dexterity of one in particular, who tossed a pike with military precision, Goldsmith remarked with some warmth, "Psha! I can do it better myself."³ Timbs says that Boswell relates how Goldsmith "went home with Mr. Burke to supper, and broke his shin by attempting to exhibit to the company how much better he could jump over a stick than the puppets."

On the south side of Panton Street were Hickford's Auction Rooms of the reign of George I. The following curious advertisement from the sale catalogue of a collection of pictures sold by Hickford, March 5, 1728-9, illustrates the possibilities for the afflicted and the invalid, though perhaps more generally for the lazy, of the "sedan-chair."

N.B. Such persons as design to be brought in chairs, are desired to come in at the back door of Mr. Hickford's Great Room (which is on a ground floor), facing the Tennis Court in St. James's Street in the Haymarket; which is so large and convenient that, without going up or down steps, the chair

¹ See further *The Autobiography of John Britton, F.S.A.*, 1850, pp. 97-8.

² *London Gazette*, Sept. 24, 1702, and April 8, 1703.

³ T. Forster's *Life of Goldsmith*.

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may be carried in to the very room where the Pictures &c., are shewed.¹

A writer in *The Daily Graphic* says that our social history is strewn with the corpses of dead amusements, and truly the Haymarket hath "an ancient smell."

Tickets might be had at Low's Coffee-House in Panton Street—

For the Benefit of Mr. Rowland:
AT MR. HICKFORD'S Great Room, in
Panton-Street, near the Hay-market, on Monday
the 10th Instant, will be perform'd, A CONCERT of
VOCAL and INSTRUMENTAL
MUSICK.

By the best Hands from the OPERA.
The Vocal Part by Mr. BEARD.

To begin at Seven o'Clock.²

At the Italian Warehouse, the Crown in Panton Street, Leicester Fields. . . .

A Large Choice of Italian Flowers, fine Chip and Leghorn Hats, Rosa Solis, Venice Treacle, Carmelitan Water, the best French Hungary Water, Lavender Water, Sans Pareil, Melfleur, Sultana, Jessamin, Bergamot, Mareschal, Cedrate; Quintessence of Roses, Jessamin, Govesolo, Melissa, Rosemary, French Capillaire, Orgeat, Italian Pomatum for the Hair; also the famous Grecian Pomatum and Sultana Powder for the Face, a particular Paste for the Hands, all sorts of superfine Italian Powder for the Hair, a fine Conserve for the Teeth, and several other Articles too tedious to mention.³

M. Priest at the "Golden Key" in Panton Street sold . . . "Gauze, Blond, and Fringed Linen . . . Large Blond Handkerchiefs at 15s.; Gauze Aprons; Summer Cloaks and dress'd Cloaks."⁴

In Panton Street (probably in the Great Room), in 1770 were exhibited the "Italian Fantoccini" of Mr. Carlo Perico, in which Harlequin, the hero, was considered to perform a remarkable act in eating a dish of macaroni.

Flockton, better known as a successful showman than as a

¹ Cunningham's *London*.

² *St. James's Evening Post*, May 6, 1736.

³ Newspaper-cutting in St. Martin's Scrap Book, (1748).

⁴ Undated newspaper-cutting, *ibid.*, about 1740.

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conjurer, used to perform conjuring tricks on the outside of his show to attract an audience. But in 1769 he gave a variety entertainment for some time at Hickford's Concert Room, Panton Street, although conjuring does not appear to have been included in his programme. The fees for admission ranged from 6*d.* to 2*s.* The same prices were charged in 1780, when he prepared an exhibition of "fantoccini" with a conjuring entertainment at a room in the same street, probably the same that was occupied by a successor¹ who was a far greater exponent of "Old Nick's" ways, as many still supposed them to be, to wit the eminent Breslaw. During the two years, preceding 1782 when he returned to the Haymarket, Frost supposes that Breslaw was absent from London on either a continental or provincial tour. He was, however, at Panton Street in March, 1780, as the following announcement shows:

GREAT ROOM, PANTON-STREET,
HAY-MARKET,
THIS and TO-MORROW EVENING will
be display'd a Variety of NEW CAPITAL
PERFORMANCES,
By Mr. BRESLAW and his New COMPANY.

First. Several select Pieces of Music, and a Song, by a young Lady.

Second. Several Imitations, Vocal and Rhetorical, by a young Gentleman not nine years old.

Third. Mr. BRESLAW will exhibit his new Steronigraphical Operations and likewise his enchanted Pixis Metilica; with a Variety of new Magical Card Deceptions, never before exhibited.

Fourth. Miss ABRAMS will play a Solo on the Violin, accompanied on the Guitar, Spagnoil,² by Sieur DERAMONEY, from Naples.

Fifth. Monsieur NOVILLE will play on the following Instruments, viz., the German Flute, Violin, Spanish Castanets, two Pipes, Violin, Trumpet, Bascyan Bass, whistling the Notes, Dutch Drums, and Violoncello, never attempted before in this kingdom.

The whole to conclude with two new beautiful Artificial FIRE-WORKS, which will be represented in the most brilliant manner. The particulars of these variety of Performances are

¹ Thomas Frost's *Lives of the Conjurors*, 1881, p. 133-4.

² Probably a Spanish Guitar; cf. spaniel.

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expressed in the Bills.—The room is warm and commodiously prepared, and will be illuminated with wax lights.

Boxes 3s. Pit 2s. Gallery 1s.

Tickets or Places to be taken from Ten in the morning till Three in the afternoon.

The doors to be opened at Six o'clock, and to begin precisely at Seven.

N.B. Mr. BRESLAW, or any of his Performers, will wait on private Companies, by giving proper Notice; and if any Ladies or Gentlemen are inclinable to learn some of Mr. BRESLAW'S Deceptions on Cards, Money, &c. they may be taught in a few minutes, by applying to him as above-mentioned.¹

The Royal Comedy Theatre in Pantion Street, should, we believe, says *The Builder*, be instanced as marking the situation of Addison's Haymarket lodging, which Pope showed to Harte as being the garret where Addison wrote *The Campaign*.²

When the news of the victory of Blenheim arrived Lord Treasurer Godolphin, meeting casually with Lord Halifax, told him in the fullness of his joy that it was a pity the memory of such a victory should ever be forgotten, adding that "he was pretty sure his Lordship who was so distinguished a Patron of Men of Letters must know some Person, whose Pen was capable of doing Justice to the Action." Halifax replied that he did know such a person, but would not desire him to write upon the subject Lord Godolphin had mentioned. On being asked the reason for so unkind a resolution, Lord Halifax briskly told him that "he had long with Indignation observed that while too many Fools and Blockheads were maintained in their Pride and Luxury at the expense of the Publick, such Men as were really an Honour to their Country, and to the Age they lived in, were shamefully suffered to languish in Obscurity: that for his own Part, he would never desire any Gentleman of Parts and Learning to imploy his Time in celebrating a Ministry, who had neither the Justice or Generosity to make it worth his while." The Lord Treasurer replied calmly that "he would seriously consider of what his Lordship had said, and endeavour to give no occasion for such Reproaches for the future; but that in the present Case he took it upon himself to promise that any Gentleman whom his Lordship should name as a person capable of celebrating the late

¹ *The Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser*, March 3, 1780.

² *The Builder*, Sept. 19, 1885.

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Action, should find it worth his while to exert his Genius on that Subject." Lord Halifax thereupon named Mr. Addison, but insisted that the Lord Treasurer himself should send to him. This was promised and his lordship accordingly desired Mr. Boyle¹ to go to him. And it was apparently while Addison was "indifferently lodged" in the Haymarket that he was surprised on the morning following the above conversation to receive a visit from the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Boyle), who, having acquainted him with his business, added that the Lord Treasurer, "to encourage him to enter upon his subject, had already made him one of the Commissioners of Appeals; but entreated him to look upon that Post only as an Earnest of something more considerable." In short, the obliging things said by the Chancellor in so graceful a manner gave Addison the utmost spirit and encouragement to begin *The Campaign*. Soon after the poem appeared the Lord Treasurer, as was usual with him, kept his promise, and preferred the author to "a considerable Post."²

Mr. G. A. Sala says that the morals of Panton Street were scarcely unimpeachable in 1859 and for a few years afterwards. One of the "night houses" of that time "was kept by a gentleman whom I will call Mr. Jehoshaphat. I was in the Hall of Dazzling Light one morning about three; I had a dispute with Mrs. Jehoshaphat, touching the champagne," (which Mr. Sala says elsewhere was nothing but gooseberry and rhubarb)³ "at fifteen shillings a bottle. Mr. Jehoshaphat interfered; there was a fight, I took the floor, Mr. Jehoshaphat kneeling on my chest; and then, by a cleverly directed blow with his left hand the fingers of which were beautifully garnished with diamond rings, he split my nose throughout its entire length. Then he dexterously rolled me into the street. Fortunately for me the next house was an establishment of a similar nature, of which the proprietor was a certain Mr. 'Jack' Coney—altogether, considering the equivocal profession which he followed, not at all a bad fellow. Of course I was bleeding like a pig. He picked me up, tied a table napkin tightly round my face, put me in a cab, and took me to Charing Cross Hospital, where the house surgeon swiftly sewed up my damaged nasal organ.

¹ The Rt. Hon. Henry Boyle, created Lord Carleton in 1714, the youngest son of Charles, Lord Clifford. At the time the above occurred he was Chancellor of the Exchequer.

² *Memoirs of the Boyles*, by E. Budgell, 1737, pp. 151-3.

³ Sala's *Life and Adventures*, 1895, vol. i, p. 403.

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As a medical gentleman afterwards succinctly observed, 'the flesh on my nose presented the aspect of a split mackerel ready for the gridiron.' Then Mr. 'Jack' Coney took me home to my lodgings in Salisbury Street."¹

At the Harp and Flute, in the Haymarket, Joseph Hill, the celebrated violin-maker, worked in 1762. Here he published some volumes of music, one of which was "A Set of Easy Lessons for the Harpsichord, dedicated to the Public, opera trentesima prima, London, printed for and sold by Joseph Hill, musical instrument maker . . . where may be had Six Easy Lessons for the Harpsichord, by different authors, also a variety of Music and Musical Instruments." This has a curious preface, signed J. M.²

The two houses No. 22 and 23³ on the east side of the Haymarket were, in January, 1878, the scene of an alarming accident. Mr. Robert Walker, District Surveyor of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, declared that the cast-iron columns used on the building of the newer house were the worst he ever saw, and the accident was said at the time to show that a good architect, a District Surveyor and a competent foreman, can put up unsafe cast-iron columns *without their being able to detect the defects of the casting*. It was stated, however, by the Building Act Committee of the Metropolitan Board of Works that the District Surveyor was entirely free from blame.

Of these buildings, one was an old narrow-fronted house, used as an oyster-shop, and occupied by a Mr. Baron, while the other was a brand new house, erected at the corner of Panton Street and the Haymarket, and flanked in Panton Street by another narrow-fronted old house. To construct the new house it had been necessary to rebuild the party-wall between it and the old house in Panton Street; but in the Haymarket the old party-wall on the ground floor was underpinned and left standing, a new wall, nearly fifty feet in height, being built upon it. The new wall, it was thought, proved too heavy for the old one, and warning was actually given, though unheeded, during the afternoon of Thursday the 17th of the impending danger. The same day Mr. Baron and his assistants had noticed that the doors stuck in their frames, and it became evident, from the remarks of

¹ Sala's *Life and Adventures*, pp. 404-5.

² *British Music Publishers*, by Frank Kidson, 1900, pp. 62-63.

³ Probably No. 23 and 24 are meant. See *The Builder*, 1878.

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workmen who had been called in to ease them, that some movement had taken place. Towards night other warnings, such as falling plaster and creaking wood, were given, and the inhabitants, including Mr. Baron, at last sought shelter in the street. But in spite of the threatened catastrophe Mr. Baron hesitated in escaping and before midnight the houses were a heap of ruins beneath which lay buried the unfortunate oyster-merchant.

The jury found "that William Baron met his death by the falling of the houses in the Haymarket, caused through building a new wall on part of a defective old party-wall, and that great blame is attributable to both the architects and the District Surveyor for permitting such wall to be built upon."

Messrs. Garrard, at No. 25, Haymarket, possess a very interesting old shop-card, engraved in the Hogarthian style, relating to their very old firm before removal to their present premises in the Haymarket. They have lately again removed to a site at the corner of Albemarle Street and Grafton Street, Piccadilly. The foundation of the business was laid in 1721 by George Wickes, his sign being that of the King's Arms, and a Garrard has been at the head of affairs for six generations. The Koh-i-noor diamond was recut on the premises, the first facet having been chipped by the Duke of Wellington, while the even more famous gems, in point of intrinsic value, the Cullinan diamond-parts, received their setting at the hands of the same firm.

In the year 1773, while living in Jermyn Street, Dr. John Hunter delivered his magnificent lectures on the Principles of Surgery, at No. 28, Haymarket, premises now occupied by the Civil Service Co-operative Society. Death had, in the spring only of the same year, already thrown down the challenge in the first attack which the great surgeon suffered of *angina pectoris*. He remained free from further attacks until 1776, a respite which afforded the opportunity for his first course of lectures, beginning in 1773, which were advertised thus :

On Monday Evening, the 4th of October, at Seven o'Clock, Mr. John Hunter will begin, at No. 28, in the Hay-market, a Course of Lectures on the Principles and Practise of SURGERY, in which will be introduced so much of the ANIMAL OECONOMY as may be necessary to illustrate the Principles of those Diseases which are the Object of Surgery. This course will

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be continued on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, through the whole Winter at the Hour abovementioned. Proposals may be seen, and Tickets will be delivered, in Jermyn Street. No Person will be admitted to the first Lecture without a Ticket for the Course.

Of these lectures, Mr. Cline, one of the surgeons of St. Thomas's Hospital, says in his Hunterian Oration, 1824, that when only twenty-four years of age he had the happiness of hearing them. "I had been at that time (he says) for some years in the profession, and was tolerably well acquainted with the opinions held by the surgeons most distinguished for their talent then residing in the metropolis; but having heard Mr. Hunter's lectures on the subject of disease, I found him so far superior to anything I had conceived or heard before, that there seemed no comparison between the great mind of the man who delivered them, and all the individuals, whether ancient or modern, who had gone before him."

The labour of preparing and delivering these priceless lectures, especially in one to whom lecturing was always a particularly unpleasant task, was enormous. He never gave the first lecture of his course without taking thirty drops of laudanum to take off the effects of his uneasiness. Dr. Abernethy says: "He seemed to me conscious of his own desert, of the insufficiency and uncertainty of his acquirements, and of his own inability readily to communicate what he knew and thought. He felt irritated by the opposition he had met with . . . 'I know, I know,' said he, 'I am but a pigmy in knowledge, yet I feel as a giant when compared with these men.'"

In 1779 the lectures—the whole course consists of nearly a hundred—were still delivered at No. 28 Haymarket; but in 1783 they were given at Dr. Hunter's house in Castle Street.¹

¹ See *John Hunter: Man of Science and Surgeon*, by Stephen Paget, 1897, pp. 102 and 105; and *Two Great Scotsmen: the Brothers William and John Hunter*, by George Mather, M.D., F.F.P.S.G., 1893.

[To be continued.]

TWO ANCIENT SUSSEX HOSTELRIES.

By I. GIBERNE SIEVEKING.

PERHAPS there are few towns in England in which one feels so absolutely in the very midst of a past rich in antiquarian remains, as one does in the Red Town on the Hill, the Cinque port, Rye. The very air one breathes is filled with memories; the grass-grown streets, the gray old gates which flank the outer walls, the wonderful cathedral-like church, the exquisite vistas of the little, twisted, uneven, gabled streets, all speak in our ears the voice of a great Past—a Past that is long dead, and yet still speaks romance in the ears of a prosaic, commercial Present.

The sea, whose waves once broke persistently against its stones; the French,¹ who once swung conqueringly and clamorously down its cobbled streets, are both departed. The "pestilence which destroyeth in the noonday," and which once raged noisomely here,² is gone too. But if these are all presences that are vanished, vivid reminders of all that they stood for in days gone by are struck into life on the mind's tinder-box, at almost every street corner.

I think there are few sights more full of picturesque suggestion than is one's first view of Rye from a distance. There stand the unevenly-clustered red houses, clinging together, as it were, in a sort of forsaken loneliness on the summit of the hill. Once they were the centre of happenings that moved the world; once they stood a head and shoulders above their fellows, in a position which commanded respect, which also was one of unassailable dignity; once they defied their enemies, as a sea-girt city built upon the rock, can defy all attacks from below. Now there are no enemies to defy: no attacks to resist. With changed times has come safety, and yet with safety has come also a certain want of point, if one may so express it, a certain want of significance in the town's *locum-tenens*-ship, in relation to its surroundings.

The view of Rye which is most familiar to everyone is that which faces one on approaching it from Winchelsea, but quite another character is assumed by the town if seen

¹ In the reigns of Richard II and Henry VI Rye was taken and burnt by the French.

² In 1544, 385 people died of the plague in Rye.

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from the fields leading to Camber. There is something distinctly French in the look of the picturesquely irregular grouping of the red and grey roofs, standing high above the flat meadows, where once the sea washed the walls. There is a far more striking suggestiveness about the town seen from here. One can almost *see* the old environment, and can certainly picture its undeniable effectiveness. There was a great deal of the French element in the Rye of those days. Jeake tells us that in 1582 there were 1534 French refugees living in the town; and to this day a great many of the inhabitants have names showing French origin.

In 1448 the town was almost completely destroyed by the French; in fact, only four houses remained unburnt. And it is chiefly for this reason that the date of the two most interesting houses in Rye, about which this article is concerned—the Mermaid Inn, and the old Flushing Inn—is practically assumed to belong to the middle of the fifteenth century.

The Mermaid Inn is situated at the top of a cobbled, grass-grown narrow lane which leads to the old hospital, with its picturesque Elizabethan gables, which is opposite the storehouse built by Jeake in 1689. The local guide-book states that, from old records, the Mermaid Inn was known to have been used as a hostelry as far back as 1636, but had lapsed into private life in 1784. The front of the house, which faces on to Mermaid Street, is not specially noticeable, but one has only to turn a corner and make one's way round to the back of the building, to be struck into keen admiration. Here it is all strikingly picturesque; there is no lack of effect. It appeals at once, and directly, to one's eye and heart. Inside there is abundance of archæological interest. Across the little hall, on the right is the fine old dining-room, with carved wainscot and chimneypiece of Caen stone, where may be seen a date in Roman numerals of the early part of the sixteenth century. At the further end of the room a second door leads to the little shady garden, and to what is now called the "club room." It is in this portion of the house that a great part of its interest centres. For just outside this club room my attention was drawn to certain indications which seemed to suggest that formerly the inn had been a religious house of some description; perhaps a guest-house.¹

¹ "A guest-house (hostellary, hostry, etc.) was a necessary part of every great religious house. It was presided over by a senior monk."—*English Monastic Life*, by Dr. F. A. Gasquet.



The Mermaid Inn, Rye; back view.





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These indications included a depression in the wall just outside the "club room" which was at the right height for a holy-water stoup, and above this a niche where the figure of a saint might have stood, and beyond that a door into a small room (now a "reading-room"). In this room is some curious linen-fold panelling. There are figures of angels and of knights in armour, and two long panels of religious designs: the fleur-de-lys, "I.H.S.," and crosses. Alongside these panels is the same design as is carved on the pulpit in Rye parish church. In the corner of this room, by the fine old chimneypiece, is a curious old cupboard, with three square panels, carved in the centre, and the characteristic hinge. It is believed that this cupboard dates back to the fifteenth century.

Quite recently in making a slight alteration in the room a piece of glass from a casement window was found, with these words scratched upon it:

John Halsey, alias Chambers
nescio quid sit amor [*sic*, ? amari],
nec amo, nec amor,
nec amavi

Isaac povec

1654.

And on a panel near the cupboard, is carved the following:

Eanbenrd [*sic*]
4 ivnii
1661^o

In religious houses there was generally a room, the parlour, or *locutorium*, which could be used by the guests. This room was usually next to the church door; between it and the outer buildings. In this case the room is next to the "club-room," and my own strong conviction is that this last was, at one period of its existence, used as a chapel, or at least as the room where religious offices were said. It is a long room, one end facing the east, the other the inn courtyard. Over the fireplace is a long, broad piece of timber, the opening above the fireplace is high up and quite narrow. On the right hand side is a square opening in the wall, and on the left hand a cupboard in the wall, or aumbry. In the opposite corner is a door opening on to a secret staircase. This staircase leads to one of the oldest rooms in the house. It is panelled all round, and has three latticed windows, two looking into the court-

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yard, and the third into the garden. It has two doors,¹ one, as I have said, that opens on to the staircase, and the other just opposite. Each of these doors swings to insistently, whenever it is opened; each has the curious double hinge, and the Sussex "catch," or latch, which dates back to 1400, and opens with a little piece of string which lifts the wooden tongue of the latch. There is a room on the other side of the house which evidently belongs to the same date as does this one. Here too are found the low, narrow doors with the Sussex latch and big double hinge.

The room over the "Club room" of which I have just been speaking, owns a ghost story of its own. Here, on the unevenly laid floor, was fought in years gone by, a duel between two officers for the usual reason—a woman. On the wall hangs the picture of a lady in a close-fitting cap, holding a long pointed vessel, out of which have fallen some apples. Her dress is cut low, and is brown in colour, and round it is wrapped a red mantle. The face of the woman is not altogether pleasant; there is a touch of shrewdness, not unmixed with hardness, about her narrow brown eyes, and rather scornful smile. She somehow gives one the feeling that one would not have cared to come under her power, whether of personal attraction or of intellect. There is no name or clue as to her identity, and one is therefore left wondering as to whether she was the cause of the ghost story, or no.

Some explanation of the little connecting staircase between the "Club room" and the room above (assuming that the Mermaid Inn was formerly, at one period of its existence, some kind of religious house, or guest-house) may be this. Very often the monk would have his bedroom above the chapel, so that he could, without difficulty, come down to it to say his midnight offices. However this may be, it is believed that an underground passage extended from this part of Mermaid Street to the church,² and it is known for certain that a lane led straight from here to the church in former years.

As regards what kind of religious houses were known to exist formerly in Rye, Dr. Gasquet tells me that he believes "*the Austin Friars only* had any house" there, and that he

¹ The height of each is about 5ft. 3 in., and $\frac{3}{4}$ of a yard wide.

² England must be fairly honeycombed with underground passages, if we believe all the silly tales of credulous rustics. Has a single one ever been authenticated?—EDITOR.



The Mermaid Inn, Rye: The Haunted Room.

Drawn by Miss Edith Hammond



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has "no knowledge of any other." There is in existence the Austin Friary Chapel in the town, in Conduit Street. There is also, in the Church Square, an old fourteenth-century chapel, *said* to be of Carmelite origin. Dr. Hermitage Day tells me that the Mermaid Inn "incorporated an old hospital, of the kind in which a semi-religious rule was observed." The present Vicar of Rye, however, is doubtful as to whether the inn was associated with the old hospital further down Mermaid Street, which was he says "in its origin a private house, occupied by Samuel Jeakes, the Historian of Rye, and used as a Hospital at a later day." But he adds that the Mermaid Inn would have been an "important hostel in its early days, because Mermaid Street was the second chief thoroughfare in the town, with the Strand Gate at the bottom . . . now entirely demolished."

There are sufficient remains of the building of the Austin Friars in Rye to interest an archæologist. But whether the Mermaid Inn was really in other days a religious house or no, to-day it is an ideal place in which to pass summer days. Comfortable, peaceful, suggestive, and for the antiquary, full of ancient memories. The little cobbled street outside suggests a place "where it is always afternoon," so steeped in sunshine is everything. The spirit of the Past broods over all, and makes a magnetic environment.

The other hostelry, the Old Flushing Inn, is close to the church, and is situated in a little square court. Until 1905 nothing was known of its history, but then, one of the rooms was being re-papered, and a workman, quite by chance, in stripping off the old papers, came upon a wonderful wall painting, consisting chiefly of mythical animals, and scrolls, executed in mineral colours of yellow, brick-red, and pink. These mineral colours, so I was informed by the man who is in charge of the house, shine up much more vividly in wet weather than in dry.

The scrolls consist of three parts of the *Magnificat* and three parts of *Soli Deo bona*. Six angels support the scrolls, and there are shields which represent three lions rampant and three fleurs-de-lys.

In the *Sussex Archæological Collections* are articles dealing with this fresco, by Mr. P. M. Johnston, F.S.A., and by Mr. Harold Sands, F.S.A. The latter declares the house cannot be earlier than 1449, and that the joists of the ceiling in this room are fifteenth-century work. Mr. Johnston says that the

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Liberate Rolls of Henry III have many directions as to painting walls and wainscoting of the chapels and domestic apartments of that Monarch's many residences, and it is a practical certainty that the houses of the nobility, gentry and wealthy merchants were similarly decorated from at least as early a date. Texts and mottoes were frequently introduced on beams, over fire-places and elsewhere. In western Sussex many such remains of domestic painted decoration have been found, dating from the 16th and 17th centuries.

Mr. Sands, however, says that while "church wall paintings are not rare, domestic examples like the present, occur but seldom. Being an almost unique survival, it is on that account the more valuable."

It seems to me that Mr. Sands leaves the question open therefore as to whether the Flushing Inn may not possibly have belonged to some religious or semi-religious house in the past.

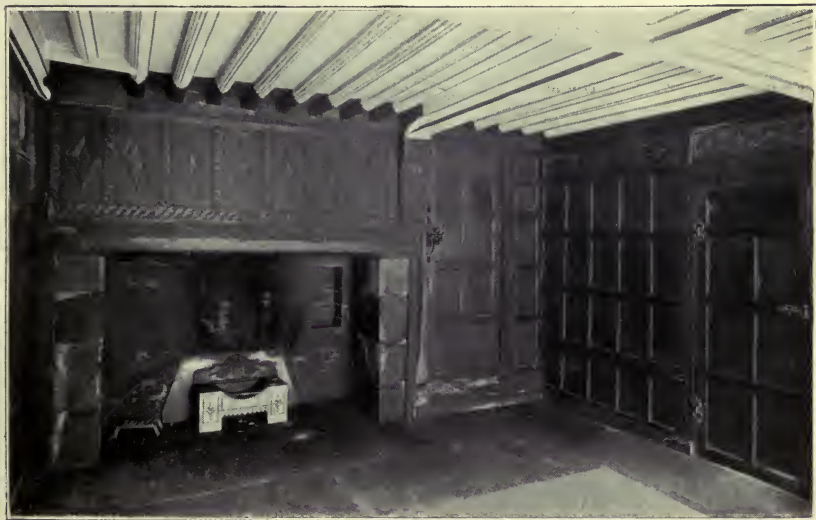
It is not only in this one room that the mural painting shows, for all over the house are paintings, in the same mineral colours, of angels' heads, etc. The room next to the one in which is the fresco is panelled throughout with beautiful carvings.

With regard to the frescoed scrolls Mr. Johnston declares that the text of the black letter *Magnificat* is the same as Tyndale's Bible of 1525, and Dr. Warner, of the British Museum, has stated that the version is practically identical with it. Mr. Johnston tells us that the shield in the painting formed part of the coat of arms of Queen Jane Seymour, mother of Edward VI. "The painting bears close resemblance to the arras or tapestry hangings with which houses of wealthier classes were commonly adorned in the middle ages. . . . There can be no doubt that the Rye painting was executed between 1547, the year of Edward VI's accession, and 1554 the year of his death. The type of lettering used is a sort of mixed Lombardic and Roman, fashionable in the early Renaissance period."

There is a wooden scroll of seven large upright lozenge-shaped designs over the fireplace, but it is very inferior to that at the Mermaid Inn. There are, however, certain similar designs in both houses. If I am not greatly mistaken, there are signs of mural painting in the Mermaid Inn also. I have, myself, seen traces of it, specially on the wall of the passage near the club room, which was being white-washed this last summer when I was staying in the house. To my mind there seemed evident traces of some design on the



The Old Hospital, Rye.



"The Refectory," Flushing Inn, Rye.

Photographs by Valentine Sieveking.



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Flemish bricks¹ which form part of the walls, but I had not unfortunately the opportunity to examine them to any great extent.

I am indebted to Mr. Whiteman for permission to reproduce the photographs of the Mermaid Inn, to Miss Edith Hammond for permission to have a print made from her picture of the haunted room, and to Mr. Valentine Sieveking for the other photographs.

SIR JOHN WOLSTENHOLME, A MERCHANT ADVENTURER OF LONDON.

BY FRED. ARMITAGE, author of *The Hydes of Kent*, *A Short Masonic History*, etc.

HUMAN nature will peep out from all places where man has placed his hand. Old buildings always have their interesting tales to tell, and their dead makers speak to us through their stones, telling us the story of the human minds and human intelligence behind them; how they were conceived, and how altered during their execution. Even formal deeds and charters have a human interest, if we can but get behind them to their writers and authors, thus picturing the living being rather than the written document. This is the charm of archæology, and the State Papers are replete with interest of this kind. Turning over the pages of the Calendar (Domestic Series) for the reign of Charles I, we have come across one interesting character, a wealthy merchant in the times of the early Stuarts, who moved in Court circles, and used his influence there to obtain the lucrative position of one of the farmers of the taxes, such as exist to-day in the East, but have happily disappeared here.

When James I came to the throne, he had to resort to the tactics, afterwards followed with such disastrous results by his successors, of obtaining money by imposing taxes without the sanction of Parliament. Unfortunately for the King, these taxes did not come in fast enough to meet his pressing necessities, and there were many leakages in their collection, so that he

¹ A great number of Flemish bricks, which are much slighter and narrower than the English ones, are in evidence in most of the old buildings in Rye.

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found it better, if he could find men of responsibility and position, to farm out these taxes to them, in consideration partly of a lump sum down, and partly of an annual rent.

One man, Sir John Wolstenholme, was in high favour for all such matters; his name recurs again and again in the State Papers in connection both with the duties of the Custom House, and with many State affairs for which he was a handy man to be appointed by the King as a Referee or Commissioner. In 1562 he was born in London, where his father was employed in the Customs; the son naturally got there too, and afterwards became one of the most important and wealthiest of the City merchants, taking a prominent place in the commerce of the nation. He was in 1600 one of the projectors of the East India Company, and his name is associated with the expeditions of Hudson and Baffin to find the North-West Passage; several of the places touched upon in that adventure still bearing his name, one being called Wolstenholme Sound. In consequence probably of his association with these ventures he was knighted on March 12, 1617.

There is an interesting reference to this expedition and to Charles I's plan of getting rid of old debts by putting them on the shoulders of a friend, and cloaking his acts under the guise of a gift. Under date April 28, 1632, we read that Capt. Fox had petitioned the Lords of the Admiralty for satisfaction for his long attendance in keeping a pinnace called "Charles," which had belonged to the King. The Admiralty officials referred the worthy Captain to Sir John Wolstenholme, desiring him to give the petitioner just satisfaction, as his Majesty had bestowed the pinnace upon him. Sir John Wolstenholme answered the petitioner that he was a great deal more money out for the North-West voyage, and until His Majesty paid him he could not pay Capt. Fox. On the back of Sir John's letter the Secretary of State wisely endorses a note, "I am to speak to Sir John about this." Let us hope the conference was satisfactory to all concerned, though we doubt it.

As showing the many-sided nature of the questions put before Sir John, we find that in 1616 he was consulted as to the price to be charged to the East India Company for the ordnance supplied to them by the State. On October 22, 1617, Sir John Dackombe wrote requesting him to find a berth for Dackombe's wife's brother, while on October 15, 1618, Wolstenholme had to explain to Sir Fulk Greville the ordinary course pursued with regard to customs duties charged to

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Scotchmen. He pointed out that gentlemen of Scotland had been allowed to ship home apparel, with household goods already used, and a moderate amount of new pewter, duty free. The question of sea pirates was also a disturbing one, and on April 10, 1619, he had to explain that the reason of the large assessment on the port of Bristol was that those ports which traded most in the Levant—of which Bristol was the principal—ought to pay most for the suppression of pirates. The question of free trade was also raised by him, and on June 14 he absolutely refused to charge any customs duties on the export of lead, which had always been free from duty; to charge which, in his opinion, would in those days, be injurious both to the King and the trade of the country.

Sir John Wolstenholme being a favourite at Court, and in touch with the trade of the City of London, it is not surprising to find him singled out for the responsible post of a lessee or Commissioner of the Customs, and on July 10, 1619, the State Papers contain a note that the King agreed to make two grants to him and his son John, with the right of survivorship in the case of the death of either of them. The first deed grants to them the office of Collector of imports outwards in the Port of London, and the other makes to them a grant of the "Office of Collector of subsidy of Tonnage and Poundage on Exports in the Port of London."

These grants related to general customs duties, but on September 30, 1619, a more definite arrangement was made by the execution of a lease to Sir John Wolstenholme, Abraham Jacob, and other merchants of London, of the Customs and Duties on Sweet Wines for eight years at a rent of £10,873 19s. 9d., which is stated to be an advance of £1,878 19s. 9d. upon the previous rent paid by them under a former lease which had then expired. As a good man of business, the King, on the same day, granted another lease of the duties on Rhenish wines to other farmers at a rent of £28,997 0s. 10d., the odd pence doubtless telling a tale of protracted haggling and discussion.

A little less than a month after this, differences arose between the King and Sir John, who had obviously been acting with something like excess of zeal in collecting the duties at the Custom House, for on January 1, 1620, it is stated that many of the foreign merchants were hardly able to pay their fines, many forswore the facts, and one Dutchman, Van Lore, said he would leave England, as those Custom Officers of

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Wolstenholme took away his goods and might also take away his life if they chose. The State chronicler expresses his fear that the whole affair would be injurious to trade and to English travellers abroad. The King, friendship or nofriendship, could not have his finances disturbed, for that was absolutely fatal to his interests, and by way of sharp reproof Sir John Wolstenholme was committed to confinement either in the Tower, or, as some suppose, in his own house, the offence being stated as "grumbling against a New Patent Office in the Custom House." In June, 1620, he had already been restored to favour, and was appointed a referee on the subject of the low freights charged by the Dutch, which had seriously injured the owners of English vessels. His report was made in the course of the year 1621, and was to the effect that the Netherlanders by cheap freights had ruined the shipping of the east, and would ruin the shipping of England. He therefore suggested a proclamation by the King prohibiting the bringing in of eastern goods, except in ships of eastern countries, or in English vessels, thus effectually keeping out the Dutchman.

In March, 1623, the well-known visit of the Prince of Wales and the Duke of Buckingham to Madrid was planned to enable a Spanish bride to be obtained for the future King Charles I. For the necessary vessel to transport the Prince and the Duke, their servants and numerous attendants, Sir John Wolstenholme was again responsible, and there was a serious question to determine whether the ship should bear a new flag at a cost of £100, or whether the old flag, used for the transportation of the Lady Elizabeth, should again do duty. Unfortunately the records do not tell us how the riddle was solved, though personally we suspect the new flag was obtained.

At the end of the year 1627, the eight years lease of the Customs on wines granted in September, 1619, to Wolstenholme and others was running out, and it was necessary for the King to make fresh arrangements, and to increase the rent. Accordingly, we find that the King made a better bargain than he had before, and substantially increased his rent, for on September 3, 1627, there is a confirmation by the King of the terms of a proposed lease to be renewed to Sir John Wolstenholme, Sir Maurice Abbott, Henry Garway, Abraham Jacob, Bernard Hyde, William Garway, Richard Crosham, John Williams and John Milward of the Customs

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on Wines and "Corinths," or currants, for three-and-a-half years with a release for the time past in consideration of a fine of £12,000, and a loan to the King of £20,000.

This note refers to the offer made by the syndicate, but before it could be carried out the King had increased his demands, and in prospect of a very substantial increase in the yearly rent, he forwent the cash payment of £20,000.

The next note, dated November 21, 1627, shows the fresh terms agreed upon, and is a memorandum of a letter from the King to the before-mentioned gentlemen, as to a "lease of the Customs of wines and currants for three-and-a-half years at the rent of £44,005, and upon the terms contained in the confirmation before calendered."

Bernard Hyde died in 1631 before the expiration of the fresh lease of the Customs, but Sir John Wolstenholme continued as one of the Commissioners. On January 10, 1631, one Endymion Porter became farmer of the customs on French wines, and in March, 1631, Sir Paul Pindar also became interested in the grant of the Customs duties. In the same year the King showed his confidence in Sir John Wolstenholme by appointing him as one of the Commissioners for the plantation of the new colony of Virginia. Sir John died in 1639, aged seventy-seven, leaving two sons and two daughters. His eldest son, John, continued in the Customs Office for many years after that, down to the time of Charles II. He became M.P. for West Looe, Cornwall, in 1625, and was knighted in May, 1633. He suffered severely in fortune during the Civil Wars, his estates being sequestered in 1643. On the restoration of Charles II in 1660 he was received with favour, and took his father's place as Commissioner of Customs, and was made Collector outwards of the Port of London.

He was a friend of Samuel Pepys, the diarist, and in the latter's *Diary*, under date September 5, 1662, he inscribes this memorandum, "To Mr. Bland's, the Merchant, by invitation, where I found all the officers of the Customs, very grave fine gentlemen, and I am very glad to know them, viz., Sir John Harvy, Sir John Wolstenholme, Sir John Jacob, Sir Nicholas Crisp, Sir John Harrison, and Sir John Shaw, very good company." Sir John was created a baronet in January, 1665, and was also on terms of intimacy with the Lord Chancellor, Sir Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon. He died in 1679, and was buried at Stanmore, Middlesex.

SMUGGLING IN THE HOME COUNTIES.

BY C. EDGAR THOMAS.

AT the present day, with our well-organized coastguard service, costing, as it does, some £260,000 yearly to maintain, smuggling to all practical purposes may be considered dead: as dead as its correlative profession highway robbery. Yet in the dim "once upon a time," and especially during the last two centuries, smuggling was rife all round the coast. From all accounts it, in common with other things, would appear to have come over with the Conqueror, until in the time of the Georges, it may be considered to have reached its zenith and perfection as a nefarious art.

Customs duties were then levied on countless articles of more or less trivial value, and consequently, if these dutiable goods could be brought into the country free, they could be sold at a much cheaper rate, ensuring a quick return, with a large margin of profit. Of course the buyers of the smuggled goods were virtually just as bad as the smugglers themselves; in fact the schoolmaster's dictum, "No listeners, no talkers," provides in this instance an excellent simile—no receivers, no smugglers. But conscience was (and is) none too sensitive as to the purchase of smuggled goods, and public sentiment was more often than not, entirely with the contrabandists, it being considered quite legitimate to smuggle, when the taxes were so heavy and manifestly unfair. Thus we find Adam Smith saying, "To pretend to have any scruple about buying smuggled goods, though a manifest encouragement to the violation of the revenue laws, and to the perjury which almost always attends it, would in most countries be regarded as one of those pedantic pieces of hypocrisy, which instead of gaining credit with anybody seems only to expose the person who affects to practise it, to the suspicion of being a greater knave than most of his neighbours." The astute economist, however, did not fail to point out the evils which accrued from this mistaken form of public sentiment: "By this indulgence of the public, the smuggler is often encouraged to continue a trade which he is thus taught to consider in some measure innocent; and when the severity of the revenue laws is ready to fall upon

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him, he is frequently disposed to defend with violence, what he has been accustomed to regard as his just property."

The Home Counties in regard to the present subject will necessarily only comprise Kent, Essex, and the newly constituted Home County, Sussex.

Kent was perhaps the one of all the English counties best adapted for the illicit trading in contraband goods. Certain it is that more smuggling was carried on there than at any other portion of the English coast. Its position, its coast line, its proximity to France and the Netherlands, and its variety of features, lent themselves admirably to the surreptitious introduction of merchandise into this country. No more favoured spot could have been found than the lone eerie marsh of Romney, with its well-wooded miry tracts, for the landing of a cargo and its safe conveyance across the Weald. Similarly Pevensey Bay, the Flats of Sandwich, the cliffs of Folkestone, and the North and South Foreland, also greatly favoured the smuggler in the execution of his nocturnal pursuits. The beaches and marshes of Dymchurch, Rye, and Winchelsea, were also by nature peculiarly adapted to meet the requirements of a midnight run.

To recur to Romney Marsh, we read that that large tract of irreclaimable waste was for centuries the scene of prohibited trading. Smuggling was well advanced here in the time of Edward I, curiously enough, not with the import branch of the business, but with the smuggling out of wool. This was known as "owling," and the folk engaged in the work as "owlers," from the curious night calls they employed to communicate with each other. "Owling" attained to a high degree of perfection (if such a word can be used to describe this offence against the customs), and was for a long time the only kind of smuggling indulged in by the Kentish folk. At that period all out-going wool from England was heavily taxed, the object being to cripple the continental weaving trade, and so provide for the establishment and prosperity of the clothing industries in our own country. From the time of Edward I the illegal disposal of English wool had claimed the attention of the government, and various export duties were imposed and raised in price from time to time, until in the reign of Edward III a law was passed absolutely forbidding the exportation of wool, under pains and penalties ranging from death to personal mutilation. This edict, however, does not seem to have struck terror into the hearts of the sturdy marsh folk, and the un-

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lawful export of wool produced on the marsh and the inland districts, still went on under the very nose of the government patrol men, in spite of their increased vigilance.

The trade of the "owlers" gradually grew apace, so much so as to warrant the government adopting sterner measures towards the end of the 17th century, by which any man living within fifteen miles of the coast and buying or owning wool, had to enter into an agreement that it should not be sold to anyone within fifteen miles of the sea. Wool rearers were also obliged to account for the number of fleeces they owned and to allow inspection whenever demanded. Naturally a law like this was too stringent to last, and in time its enforcement was relaxed, and milder penalties substituted. The "owlers" did not always escape scot-free, and many successful raids were organized and carried out by the preventive men.

A great deal of the success of smuggling in Kent was due to the fact that the persons engaged in the work were aided and abetted by the gentry of the vicinity, the majority of whom were financially interested in the undertakings.

The export smuggling in the form of "owling" eventually waned and gave place to the equally profitable import of tea, tobacco, silks, spirits, etc.

At Maidstone in 1749 James Toby, described as an old smuggler, was convicted for having conveyed English wool to France. In the course of the evidence it was proved that he had kept up a correspondence with the French, and also furnished them with swivel guns for their privateers.

Many of the fishermen eked out a livelihood as smugglers, and were only too glad to increase their precarious income by lending a hand with cargo-running. As time went on, and the trade developed, men left their hitherto regular employments on the sea or soil, and devoted themselves entirely to smuggling. They assembled in companies of thirty or more, sturdy desperate ruffians, defying the law, and eventually becoming the terror of the countryside.

One of the most dreaded and notorious of these bands was the "Hawkhurst Gang," the leader of which was alleged to be worth £10,000. For a long time they ravaged the coast, and devastated the homesteads of Kent and Sussex, until the inhabitants of the little village of Goudhurst, in the former county, at last determined to break their subserviency to these outlaws. To that end they formed the "Goudhurst Band of Militia," under the leadership of a young fellow named Sturt,

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and made ready to fight the smugglers. The latter were not slow in accepting the challenge, and with a hoary ruffian named Thomas Kingsmill at their head, appeared on the hillside and fired a volley into the village. The firing was returned and many of the gang were killed, including George Kingsmill, the brother of their leader. Others were captured by the good people of Goudhurst, and in due course received their well-merited deserts on the gallows.

In an official dispatch to the Lords of the Treasury in 1700, the cliffs between Walmer and Dover were described as being "as noted for running goods as any part of Kent," and to combat the evil the construction of a certain kind of vessel was agreed upon. They were "not to exceed 7 tons, and to contain eight able men, and to be as nimble in rowing and sailing as the French shallops or lemanores . . . not to carry cannon or culverin, but a couple of smart guns to sling a pound bullet; nor to carry ballast more than arms and ammunition, and the tackle to wind up their boat; nor would [they require] a crab or capstan on shore, but would have on board what would perform it quicker and with fewer hands."

In 1733 the custom authorities again acquainted the Treasury with the fact that smuggling was very prevalent in Kent, Essex, Suffolk, and Sussex. Within twelve months 54,000 pounds of tea, and 123,000 gallons of brandy had been seized by the preventive men.

This increase in smuggling was undoubtedly due to the fact that the cargoes were "run" by well-armed and organized men; and some little time after, we find that the 186 dragoons in Kent and Sussex were totally inadequate to cope with the smugglers, to which end 106 more were applied for.

On Friday, August 22, 1735, while five custom house officers, as many soldiers, and an officer from the Tower of London, were bringing to town some bags of tea, which they had seized in a raid, they were attacked near Lewisham, by four smugglers, fully armed with pistols and cutlasses, who swore that they would either kill or be killed. They were the first to open fire, but two of them were soon killed by the soldiers, one escaped, while the fourth was captured and safely lodged in Newgate. In this fray one of the horses belonging to the custom officers was killed, but otherwise no other casualty occurred on their side. In the following month, seven smugglers were leading their horses up Limpsfield Hill, Kent, when some riding officers and dragoons, who had been lying in wait in a chalk pit,

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ordered them to stop. A scuffle ensued in which a dragoon was wounded, and a smuggler's thigh blown away. They then decamped leaving the officers "900 weight of Tea."

At the Surrey Assizes in 1745 Matthew Clark and Jockey Tom were "charged with others, for being feloniously assembled, and armed with fire-arms and other offensive weapons in April last, landing out of a vessel near Donichurch in Kent, upwards of 5,000 weight of tea without permit," and "George Box charged for that he, in company with two other persons did feloniously assemble themselves together, being armed with fire-arms between Flimwell and Riverhead in the county of Kent, having several horses loaded with above 400 weight of run tea, not having a permit." These prisoners seemed to have experienced extraordinary good fortune, for although undoubtedly guilty, no indictment was found against them, and they left the court "without a stain upon their characters."

In 1780 a supervisor of Excise named Joseph Nicholson, with eight dragoons, was removing to Canterbury a cargo that had been seized at Whitstable, when a huge concourse of armed smugglers came up with him, near Borstal Hill, and without any warning commenced to attack them. Two dragoons were shot dead, and the smugglers made off with the cargo. A reward of £150 was offered for information leading to the apprehension of the gang, but, despite the great temptation of one of them turning informer, claiming the reward, and securing for himself the king's pardon, nothing leaked out, until John Knight was arrested on suspicion of being concerned in the affair. He was tried at the Maidstone Assizes, convicted, and gibbeted at Borstal Hill, the scene of the outrage.

The bracing little watering place of Deal, had from the earliest times been a hotbed of smuggling. Clark Russell in his admirable collection of nautical essays *Betwixt the Forelands*, gives the affidavit of Joseph Dixon in 1717, a document which clearly shows the lengths to which these men were prepared to go.

Joseph Dixon of Deal in the County of Kent, Mariner, one of the Boatmen belonging to his Ma^{ties} Custom House Boate at Deal, maketh oath, that on the 30th day of October last, he this Deponent being out on his duty about 2 of the Clock in the morning, he entered a boate or vessell on Deal Beach, wherein he found ten half Anchors¹ or upward which this

¹ Ankers, small casks.

SMUGGLING IN THE HOME COUNTIES.

Deponent believed were filled with French brandy, and thereupon seized the said half anchors and boate for the King and himself as the law directs. And as this Deponent was going to take the said half anchors out of the boate to send them to his Ma^{ties} warehouse, Walter Hooper, John Meryman, Valentine Arthur, Samuel Gutteridge, Seth Snoswin, and John Pickle of Deal, Mariners, came into the said boate to this Deponent, and by force, with the help of John Ashenden, John Nicholls & George Spiller, also of Deal aforesaid, Mariners, launched the said boate and half anchors with this Deponent afloat upon the sea, where the said Walter Hooper, John Meryman and Valentine Arthur laid violent hands on this Deponent and put him out of possession of his said seizure by throwing him out of the boate into the sea, where they left this Deponent, and carried away the said boate and half anchors.

A Deal smuggling craft provides the material for an anecdote of the year 1771. A Dover revenue cutter fell in with her round the South Foreland, but no response being elicited to the hails of the custom officers, a boat was dispatched to board her. On attempting this, the officers were met by the brawny fists of the Deal boatmen over the gunwale. The cutter's men were determined to board the lugger, and were eventually allowed to do so, but no sooner had they set foot on deck than they were taken up in a strong grasp, and violently thrown overboard. They were rescued by their own boat, and another government cutter passing, signals were exchanged, and the Deal smuggler was hotly pursued by the two revenue boats, until she ran in close to the shore. The contraband goods were demanded by the customs officers; a demand that was promptly and firmly declined. A large number of people had congregated on the beach, and seeing that the revenue people were determined to have their way, they pelted the government boats and men with stones. An officer levelled a blunderbuss at the smugglers, and called on them to surrender at once, or he would fire. "Fire and be damned!" was the reply, on which several of them were brought down by a shower of slugs. They then suffered themselves to be quietly taken; the spoil amounting to over 150 tubs of brandy and other goods.

In 1783 the custom officers were apprised of the secretion of 1,500 casks of spirits in various warehouses in Deal. The revenue authorities, together with forty-seven dragoons under the command of a Captain Pennyman, proceeded from Canter-

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bury to confiscate the goods. Arriving at Deal they were surprised to find that the smugglers had received intelligence of their projected visit, and had made every preparation to receive them. The troops were fired upon from behind walls and windows, while cables had been stretched across the streets to impede their advance. The smugglers thus had every advantage, and the heavy firing forced Captain Pennyman and his company to retire, not, however, before they had broken open one warehouse and seized a large quantity of spirits, coffee, and geneva. The press of that time revelled in exaggeration regarding this affair, stating that a most desperate battle ensued, involving the loss of twenty lives, but it is doubtful whether any serious loss of life occurred. The King's pardon and a reward of £100 was offered for information leading to the arrest of the offenders.

At the instigation of Mr. Pitt, in 1784, a large number of the Deal luggers, which, it being winter, were drawn high up on the beach were seized and burnt. A whole regiment of soldiers was sent down to put this raid into execution, but news of their intention, having leaked out, every publican and lodging-house keeper removed his sign, and the troops experienced considerable difficulty in finding quarters. Eventually they took advantage of the offer of a large barn situated just outside the town, which the owner would only let on a two years' lease. The weather being severe, they were perforce obliged to accept this hard bargain.

The wars in which England became involved consequent on the French Revolution, caused the energies of the government to move in other directions, and the smugglers were not slow to take advantage of this. Deal became infested with gangs of smugglers, and the longshore men of the town gained a great reputation for courage and gallantry in combating these marauders. With the termination of the war in 1815 a vigorous coast-blockade was put into practice. Frigates and cutters were stationed in the Downs, and armed patrols placed at regular intervals along the coast, with orders to search and confiscate any boats and arrest any persons suspected of harbouring contraband goods. But the smugglers were as keen as the blockaders, and the situation became a veritable battle of wits. False keels, hollow masts, and other ingenious secret hiding-places, were fitted on the Deal luggers, by which means they still managed to elude the excisemen. When, however, one of the government cutters, the "Ganymede," under the command

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of one McCulloch, succeeded in bringing off in rapid succession three or four well-organized coups against the smugglers, it became pretty evident to them that one of their own party was giving information. For some time successful government raids had been made upon cargoes, and the smugglers were quickly on the alert to detect the informer. Suspicion fell upon two men named Smith and Pain, and with these desperadoes suspicion was as good as proof positive. They had their revenge in a characteristic and barbarous manner. While quietly walking along the street in the middle of the day, Pain was seized by a number of men, thrown violently into a cart, stripped naked, and conveyed in that state through the streets of Deal, exposed to the public gaze. The process of tarring and feathering was then gone through. Smith was shortly afterwards pounced upon and treated in the same way. Public sympathy was entirely with the smugglers, and the processions through the town were allowed to pass unhindered.

Although the smugglers were brutes, and treated anyone having the misfortune to fall out with them with marked severity, the government men were no better in this respect. In 1710 a Swedish merchant, named John Oriel petitioned the Queen with regard to the harsh measures adopted by an English gunboat towards a suspected smuggler. Oriel came to England on a Swedish ship, the "Hope," which on proceeding up the Channel, encountered the "Fowey," a government cutter commanded by Captain Chadwick. The latter sent off a boat to the merchantman, by which several of the passengers were conveyed on board the "Fowey." Among these was an old Swede named Olaf Norson Norborg. Frantic cries were shortly afterwards heard, and the petitioner found that the old man had been seized and pinioned to the mast. Burning matches were placed in the unfortunate victim's hands and a cat-o'-nine-tails produced. Captain Chadwick suspected the "Hope" of carrying contraband goods, and adopted this treatment towards Norborg thinking he would confess. On the strength of the Captain's suspicion the Swedish boat was conveyed to Plymouth. It came out at the Admiralty hearing, later, that the brutality to which Norborg had been subjected on board the "Fowey" had caused his death, and Oriel's petition was on behalf of his family. The petition requested that Captain Chadwick should be dismissed from Her Majesty's Navy, but history does not record whether justice was meted out in this respect.

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In 1702, Richard Tomlin, a Deal pilot, petitioned the first Lord of the Admiralty, the Earl of Pembroke, regarding treatment received by him in his capacity of pilot of the port of Deal. While conveying a ship through the Downs to London he was passed and hailed by a tender of H.M.S. Ranleigh. The latter asked Tomlin where his ship was from, and where bound for. Tomlin replied that she was from Cadiz and under way to London. The Deal pilot evidently thought that quite sufficient information, and on being asked her cargo, facetiously remarked "Hen's teeth!" This retort roused the ire of the Captain of the tender, who sent a boat, and had Tomlin brought on to his ship. Here the indignant Captain "ordered him to be bound to two handspikes in the windlass and stript, and then Lieutenant Ledger gave him ten stripes with a two inch cord, by the order of the Captain, and two more for his own satisfaction, detaining your petitioner there near three quarters of an hour before they discharged him." As a gale was blowing at the time there was great danger of the Cadiz vessel running aground. Tomlin received no redress for his treatment, beyond a suggestion that he should sue the Captain of the tender in a court of law. Nothing more can be traced of the matter, and the probability is that Tomlin did not avail himself of the generous suggestion.

Near the village of Acole in Kent is a deep chalk pit, known as the "Smuggler's Leap," the scene of "Ingoldsby's" fine legend of Smuggler Bill and Exciseman Gill, noted hereafter.

In the autumn of 1773, a seizure of silk goods to the value of £15,000 took place, and yet a little later, a troop of Custom house officers headed by one Tankard, overtook some smugglers at Dartford, as they were quietly watering their horses. Twenty-eight horses were captured by the revenue men and found to be heavily laden with lace, silk and tea. The smugglers fought bravely, however, and only one was taken.

The Kentish Gazette in 1777 records that "on Monday last, Mr. Harris, Officer of Excise, and Mr. Wesbeach, Surveyor of the Customs at Ramsgate, attended by six Dragoons, met with a body of smugglers at Birchington, consisting of at least a hundred and fifty, armed with loaded whips and bludgeons. After a smart skirmish, in which the smugglers had many of their horses shot, they made a very regular retreat, losing 8 gallons of brandy, 95 gallons of Geneva, 162 pounds of Hyson tea, and five horses."

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The audacity of the smugglers was amply proved when, in 1781, a party of them brought an action against the Captain and crew of a government cutter for seizing and detaining their vessel and cargo, consisting of tea and rum, valued at £3,000. The defendants contended that they were smuggled goods, and the statement was not denied, but Lord Loughborough, the judge, although agreeing with the Captain that the cargo was contraband, decided that it was apprehended when beyond the contraband laws at sea. The jury awarded the smugglers £3,000 damages.

Centuries back most of the inhabitants of the now handsome watering-place of Folkestone, were fishermen and incidentally smugglers, who resided in the clefts and hollows of the chalk cliffs, while the now fashionable promenade and Leas were the scene of many successful smuggling exploits. It was here that a trick was worked successfully by an importer, who contrived to regain possession of some goods that he had purposely caused to be seized. This enterprising dealer imported into Folkestone a case of gloves on which he refused to pay duty, when of course the goods were confiscated. Into London, the same gentleman imported a similar case, and again refused to pay the custom duty; the seizure of the goods following as a matter of course. On the cases being offered for sale respectively at Folkestone and London, as was the custom with all confiscated property, it was found that one box contained all right-hand gloves, and the other all left-hand gloves. To all appearances valueless, they were sold for a mere trifle, and the buyer—who was also the importer!—paired the gloves, and congratulated himself on a good transaction.

The following is culled from the pages of a dusty old magazine of the last century:

Folkestone in Kent. Mr. Phillips, the Head Supervisor of the Customs in this county, was here on the 22nd past, and arrested several of the most noted smugglers, and sent them to Dover Castle: upon which the rest fled out of the town with the utmost Precipitation. He had the week before arrested several at Dover for the like Practices; so that 'tis thought, by this, and the many Seizures lately made, the practice of Smuggling will soon be at an end in this County.

Mr. Jordan, a custom-house officer of Folkestone, had his house broken into by smugglers, who destroyed a goodly por-

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tion of his property, and carried off his plate. One of the house-breakers, "with lace ruffles," was shot dead.

[To be continued.]

SOME EAST KENT PARISH HISTORY.

BY PETER DE SANDWICH.

[Continued from p. 75.]

SWINGFIELD.

1560.

THAT they have no vicar nor curate, but they have a minister that serveth alternat vicarages.

They have no Paraphrase.—(Fol. 23 ; vol. 1560-84.)

1578. Our chancel walls lack washing over and plastering in one place.

That we had no preaching by any since the last Visitation (our curate excepted), whose order hath been the last year, every Sunday to expound to our edifying some part of the articles of our faith, the Ten Commandments and the Lord's Prayer.—(Fol. 15 ; vol. 1577-83.)

1580. *See under* Badlesmere in Vol. vii, p. 212

1585.—Robert Ralfe and Ambrose Collard, the churchwardens, that they have sold certain lead away, which was upon the church. That the steeple wanteth reparations and that they have not presented the same.—(Fol. 6.)

1586. We, the churchwardens, present our steeple to be now at this time at reparations, viz., the stone work is somewhat decayed and wanteth reparations.—(Fol. 8.)

1588. We have a fair Bible, but not of the new translation, and that our Books of Homilies are out of order, that is to say, rent, but we will presently repair them.

Both the church and chancel are somewhat out of reparation, but we will amend it.—(Fol. 54.)

SOME EAST KENT PARISH HISTORY.

1590. Our minister hath not this Lent said any service on Wednesdays and Fridays.

That we have had but two sermons this year, but our minister doth read the Homilies orderly.

There is in our church one place in a piece of new work, where in time of rain there doth issue in water, the which we would have mended before this time, if we had got a workman.—(Fol. 88.)

1591. That John Hammond, deceased, churchwarden, sold away our church-house, worth £5, and never accounted for the same, nor yet his executrix, who was Elinor his wife, and now the widow of Edward Piper, deceased.—(Fol. 118.)

1592. These shall be to signify unto your Worship, that, as the report is, Thomas Hamon by his last will gave unto the poor of Swingfield £5. Since his death Eleanor Piper widow, his mother, hath taken administration of his goods, and so his will is unproved, and the poor without their money [given] to them by the said Thomas's bequest.—(Fol. 141 ; vol. 1585-92.)

On September 20 the church-wardens of the parish appeared before the Official to explain why :—

They had not gone the perambulation of the parish this year, and that they have not a convenient and decent pulpit in the church, being evil to [get] up into, and too deep, and no desk unto it.

There is no convenient seat for the minister to sit, to read the divine service, but only a board or desk nailed up.

There is a grave in the church that is sunk down which is an annoyance to the parishioners.

That there are certain of the parish, one or more, that have and do misuse the minister as well in the church as the church-yard, and specially did chide with him in the church or churchyard, and called or termed him "bad-fellow."

That all the defects abovesaid be notorious, and yet you have not presented any of them.

The churchwardens confessed; saving as touching the mischief offered and done towards their minister, Daniel Dutton knoweth not anything. But Thomas Tresser said that about Lammas last, a little before harvest, Robert Symons of their parish did quarrel and chide with their minister in the church

SOME EAST KENT PARISH HISTORY.

and church-yard, among which his chiding and quarrelling, he called or termed him "bad-fellow."—(Fol. 66.)

The certificate for the reparation of our church, whereunto we were enjoined, made October 30, 1591:—These shall be to certify unto your Worship that we have gone our perambulation, and have set in the bounds of our parish, as we were enjoined.

Further we signify unto your Worship that we have made a decent seat or pew for our minister to sit in, and also have amended our pulpit, and also have reared the grave as we were enjoined.

Thomas Tresser }
Daniel Dutton } churchwardens.

(Vol. 1585-1636, fol. 66.)

1605. We have no convenient cover cloth for our Communion Table.

We have not the Ten Commandments yet.

We have no convenient pulpit, neither conveniently placed, as our minister hath informed us.

We have such a chest, but not orderly kept, for the alms of the poor.

We have no cushion and cloth for our pulpit.—(Fol. 53.)

Our minister confesseth he doth not.¹ He sometimes wears the surplice; and we think he doth not cross them [children at baptism].

When on June 28, Robert Twisden, curate of Swingfield, appeared, he confessed:—That he hath not used heretofore to sign children, being by him baptised with the sign of the cross, but saith that having conferred with Mr. Archdeacon thereabouts, is resolved to use the same sign, and will use it hereafter.—(Fol. 58.)

1606. That the persons hereunder named do refuse to pay their several cesses hereunder mentioned, made and cessed for the reparation of the parish church:—

Robert Rolfe the elder, 2s. 4*d*.

Richard Coller, 1s. 6*d*.

1607. We have no such [parish] clarke that can read, but the accustomed wages are paid him.—(Fol. 125; vol. 1602-9.)

¹ The question is not recorded; its purport may be inferred from what follows.

SOME EAST KENT PARISH HISTORY.

On December 17, 1661, John Simons of Swingfield appeared in the Archdeacon's Court and stated:—That he is now Lieutenant of the Trained-band for the Hundred of Folkestone, and is owner or proprietary of the mansion-house called Smershall, with a great quantity of land and other the appurtenances thereunto belonging, together with a very fair estate in fee-simple, situate and being in the parish of Swingfield. And that there are five seats or pews situate in the body of the parish church, which anciently have time out of mind belonged unto the owners and inhabitants of the mansion-house with the appurtenances called Smershall, to sit and kneel in to hear Divine Service, in the church of Swingfield, at all times when Divine Service, prayers and sermons are celebrated within the same church; and that about seven years since, these pews formerly being much gone to decay, low and worn out, the said John Simons at his own proper cost and expense caused the same two pews to be new birthed [floored], heightened, and amended, with new doors and every thing belonging, with wainscot and other material, very convenient and handsome for him and his wife and family for the purpose aforesaid, at the time aforesaid to sit and kneel; which several pews are in length each about seven foot of a size, and about four foot of assize [*sic*] either of them in breadth, they both of them standing together in the parver alley [side aisle] uppermost next to the pulpit; the said Elisabeth [Simons] and her daughter sitting in the foremost of them, and the said John and his sons in the other of the two pews.¹—(Fol. 47; vol. 1639-86.)

1662. Our church and steeple thereunto belonging of late times hath been out of repair, and so hath our font also; but at this time our church is repairing and near finished. Our steeple and font is likewise in repairing, but cannot speedily be finished. But we desire from the Court a convenient time

¹ In Parson's *Monuments in Kent* (1794), p. 420, are given two grave-stone inscriptions in Swingfield church:

(1) Here lieth the body of Richard Simons, late of Smershall in Swingfield, being of the age of 63, and left issue two sons and two daughters, who died the 11 December, 1641.

(2) To the pious memory of John Simons, gent. He died the 21 October, 1677, aged 69 years.

“Here a lieutenant of a royal band
Interred; whose loyal life, etc.”

Arms:—Parted per fess and pale, three trefoils slipped.—*Hasted*, iii, 352.

SOME EAST KENT PARISH HISTORY.

to repair them, and we intend to have them repaired with all speed that conveniently may be.—(Fol. 57.)

1663. We have no pulpit-cloth, nor herse-cloth for the decent burial of the dead as is required.—(Fol. 94; vol. 1639-86).

[To be continued.]

NOTES AND QUERIES.

UNPUBLISHED MSS. RELATING TO THE HOME COUNTIES IN THE COLLECTION OF P. C. RUSHEN.

1675, Feb. 3.—Mortgage by demise for 1000 years by William Owtrem of Sundridge, Kent, gent., to Richard Smith of the same, gent., to secure £300, of a messuage called "Fowlehall" with lands of 63 acres in the parish of Yalding, Kent, then occupied by Thomas Symons. Repayment provided for £9 on 4 August then next, and £309 on 4 Feb., 1677 (*sic*). *Executed by Owtrem.*

1677, Aug. 14.—Deed of Covenant establishing a mortgage in fee between Bennett Garman of the Strand, near the Savoy, Middlesex, haberdasher, and Bennett Griffin of St. Martin's, Ludgate, stationer; Reciting that John Corrance of St. Martin's in the Fields, esq., and Francis Gregory of the Strand, woollendrapier, executors of the will of Sir Joseph Colston, knt., deceased, together with the said Griffin, by a deed of even date, conveyed to the said Garman in fee two tofts or parcels of land in the Ould Bayly, London, and the houses, etc., thereon then lately built, for £574, £500 of which was money belonging to Garman; it was covenanted if Griffin paid to Garman the said £500 on 21 Aug., 1681, Garman should convey the premises to Griffin; Garman was to hold the premises in the meantime, so long as interest on the said £500 was paid, as therein provided for. *Executed by Griffin.*

1686, July 10.—Assignment of mortgage in fee. John Corrance of St. Martin's in the Fields, Middlesex, esq., surviving executor of Sir Joseph Colston, knt., deceased of the 1st part, Bennett Griffin of the Old Bayly, London, stationer, of the 2nd part, and Dame Anne Colston, widow of the said Sir Joseph, of the 3rd part. Reciting a lease and release, dated 12 and 13 June, 34 Charles II (1682), whereby James Bridges of St. Mary, Savoy, coateseller, Bennett Garman, then of St. Clement Danes, haberdasher, since deceased, and the said B. Griffin, conveyed to the said John Corrance and Francis Gregory, then of St. Martin's in the Fields, woollendrapier, since deceased, the other executor of the said Sir Joseph, a parcel of ground whereon a messuage stood, which was burnt down by the then late fire in the City of London, containing 1 cellar, 1 shop, 1 parlour, 1 kitchen, with a yard, 4 chambers, and 1 garret, in the occupation when it stood of one Butler, cold-wyer-drawer, and also another parcel of ground whereon another messuage stood, which was burnt down by the said fire, known by the name or sign of "The Griffin," formerly in the occupation of one William Burrel, Citizen and Girdler of London, and at and for some time before the said fire in the occupation of one Samuel Turping, which said parcels were situate in the Old Bayley, in the parish of St. Martin's Ludgate, and the messuages thereon then lately built in the possession of the said Griffin and Thomas Stroud, subject to a proviso for redemption on payment of £15 on 13 Dec. then next, and £515 on

NOTES AND QUERIES.

13 June, 1683. And reciting that the principal sum of £500 then owing was part of the personal estate of the said Sir Joseph, who by his will, dated 2 Feb., 1673, bequeathed to the said Dame Anne legacies amounting to £1500, of which £800 then remained due. It was witnessed that Corrance and Griffin conveyed the premises to Dame Anne with the principal sum and interest due thereon, subject to the proviso for redemption, in part satisfaction of the said sum so due to her.

Executed by Corrance and Griffin.

Endorsed with receipt for £60, 2 years' interest on the mortgage, due to the said Dame Anne out of the estate of her late husband.

FREEMAN FAMILY, GREENWICH AND VICINITY (1700-1800).—I would be exceedingly grateful for any genealogical data regarding the Freeman family of Greenwich, Deptford, Blackheath, and vicinity, 1700-1800, particularly as associated with Arundel, Clifton, Day, Halley, Hawley, Pike, Pyke, Price, Sharpe, Stewart or Stuart families. Please reply direct.—EUGENE F. McPIKE, 135 *Park Row, Chicago, U.S.A.*

REGENT'S PARK: CENTENARY.—It is curious how, for the most part, the Press has been silent over so highly interesting an event as the approaching centenary of this priceless "lung" of ours. *The Observer* recently quoted thus from its issue of 22 December, 1811:

The Regent's Park in Mary-le-Bone Fields is rapidly preparing. The Circus is completely formed, and enclosed by an oak paling. The workmen are at present employed in planting laurels, firs and other evergreens. The ride round the Circus is nearly made; the latter is intersected by other roads, the principal of which leads to the New Road, opposite Portland Place.

It is to be hoped we shall, in due course, find further extracts from the same quarter chronicling the progress and final completion of this extensive undertaking. The Park must be probably unique in containing within its area three Societies, namely the Zoological, Botanical and Toxophilite. There was also a while ago the well-known Coliseum, with its panorama of Lisbon, etc., which stood, I think, upon the site of Cambridge Gate. Few avenues of chestnut trees can compare with that in the Broad Walk and few public places can boast richer or more carefully tended flower-beds. Regent's Park is indeed a possession to be proud of.—CECIL CLARKE.

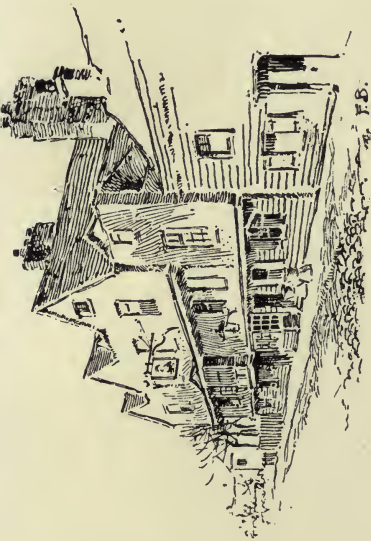
REVIEW.

SURVEY OF LONDON, issued by the joint Publishing Committee representing the London County Council and the Committee for the Survey of the Memorials of Greater London, under the general editorship of Sir Lawrence Gomme (for the Council) and Philip Norman (for the Survey Committee). Vol. iii. The Parish of St. Giles-in-the-Fields (Part 1); Lincoln's Inn Fields. Published by the London County Council; pp. xix, 136; 98 plates.

This volume reflects the greatest credit on all concerned with its production. The historical sketch of the history of the site is a monument of patient research and skill; the research, we are told, is the work of Mr. W. W. Braines, an officer of the Council in charge of the Library and Records department, and his investigations prove his competence for the work intrusted to him. The result is eminently satisfactory, for though the history of the Fields cannot be traced back beyond the fifteenth century, from 1431 the story is wonderfully complete. The preservation of the Fields as an open space is mainly due to the repeated protests of the Society of Lincoln's Inn, which even went so far as to assert a title to the freehold, a "legal fiction" perhaps justified by the end in view. Whatever the strict moralist might think of such a course, the owners and intending builders in 1657 fought shy of contesting a claim made by so formidable a body, and agreed to a limitation of building line. From that time until its acquisition by the London County Council in 1894, several suggestions were made for utilizing the centre of the square. In 1699 Mr. Cavendish Weedon of Lincoln's Inn proposed to build a church there, an idea which was renewed in 1712, 1819, and 1824. In 1842 Sir Charles Barry prepared a plan for the erection of new Law Courts here, and his design, if it had been carried out, would have made the Fields one of the finest places in Europe. We believe that the original model of the church designed by Sir Christopher Wren for Mr. Weedon is still preserved at Lincoln's Inn; it takes to pieces in various directions, like a complicated doll's house, and so gives different views of the interior with its fittings.

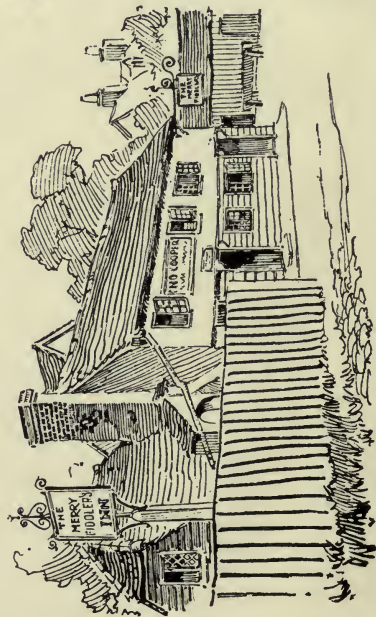
The remainder of the text deals with individual houses, with descriptions and details, and (quite as important) lists of the more distinguished inhabitants, taken from Rate Books, Hearth Tax Rolls, and other sources. The short biographies of many of these are excellent work. Bibliographical references are also given to each house, lists of old prints and views, and of photographs, drawings, etc., in the Council's collection. The whole scheme is excellent and the volume a storehouse of information. And this brings us to our first grumble. It is sheer folly to print a work of first-rate importance as a reference book on the so-called "art" paper, loaded with china clay. Apart from the objections as to the unpleasant glazed surface and the great weight, it is well known that the clay surface flakes off after a lapse of time. We doubt whether in fifty years there will be a perfect copy remaining, and we urge most strongly upon the Joint Committee that this serious error of judgment shall not be repeated in any future publications. Our second (and last) grumble is at the singularly feeble drawing of the coats-of arms; they are poor, lifeless ghosts of things, quite unworthy of the book. For Mr. Riley's drawings of various architectural details we have nothing but praise, and the photographs, which form the bulk of the plates, are excellent.

1650



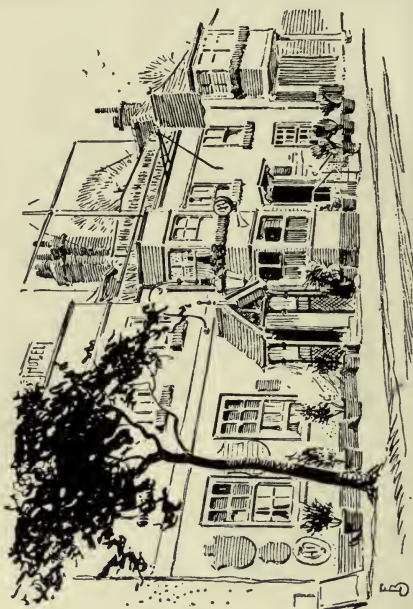
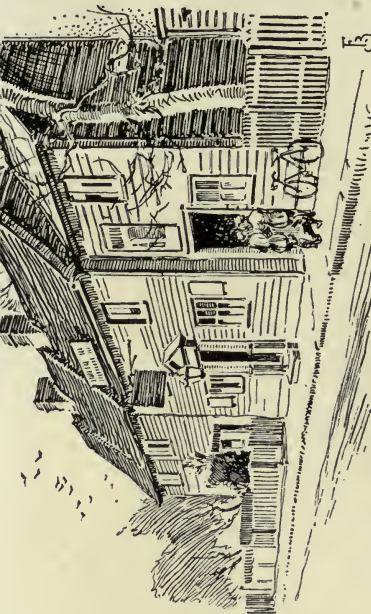
The King's Head, Chigwell.

The Mower Fiddle and Conchords



The Maltsters' Arms, Abridge.

The Thatched House Inn



ESSEX INNS: THE "MAYPOLE" AND OTHERS.

BY T. C. HEATH.

"SUCH a delicious inn, opposite the church—such beautiful forest scenery—such an out of the way, rural place," says Dickens, writing, seventy years ago, to his friend Forster, inviting him to a day's outing at Chigwell. The delicious inn in question was "The King's Head," most famous of Essex hostelries, for everybody (practically) has read *Barnaby Rudge*, and most people know that the "Maypole," where many of the incidents of the book took place, is the old "King's Head," which has stood on the road that leads from London to Ongar any time this three hundred years. It is safe to say the building dates from, at least, the period of the first James, and it is equally safe to say that Dickens, in depicting the "Maypole," had in mind none other than "The King's Head." "More gable-ends than a lazy man would care to count on a sunny day," he says, with an exaggeration pardonable in a novelist, "huge zigzag chimneys, overhanging storeys, drowsy little panes of glass, a front bulging out and projecting over the pathway;" these are features which still remain as when he wrote, and which, with carven beams and the rest, have been from the very beginning. He called his inn the "Maypole," it is true, and he placed before it "a fair, young ash, thirty feet in height," after which the sign was named, and put an "ancient porch, quaintly and grotesquely carved" in front of the door, which porch neither in 1775, the date when the story begins, nor at any other period, is at all likely to have existed, by reason that the roadway is much too narrow to have permitted of such an obstruction to the wheeled traffic; but it would be a poor novelist that could not improve upon the materials he found to his hand. Dickens, who knew the neighbourhood thoroughly—he says in the letter already quoted, "Chigwell, my dear fellow, is the greatest place in the world"—doubtless knew the "Maypole," a mile and a half away at the hamlet of Chigwell Row, and used the more poetical, more rural sign in preference. The house, by the way, still stands, its occupation gone,

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a new "Maypole" having been built upon a site a little removed from the older structure.

Anyhow, "King's Head," or "Maypole," or whatever one chooses to call it, there stands the old inn as it has stood for centuries, a place beloved of the myriad admirers of Dickens, and, above all, of his admirers from across the Atlantic. "They come here in their hundreds," says mine host, as we stand together in what has come to be known as "The Chester Room," from the fact that it is the room in which Sir John Chester, according to the novel, awaited the owner of the Warren; it is even claimed that a portion of *Barnaby Rudge* was actually written there. "They want to take away everything. Untold sums have been offered me for that," he continues, pointing to the fine carved chimney, quaintly picturesque with its "Ionic" columns and other "classical" ornament of the period when it had birth, "and I could have sold those chairs over and over again for thirty pounds or more each." We walk to the far end of the room to inspect a trio of the round dozen of high-backed, elaborately carved chairs standing around, which doubtless in their time have seated many a roystering cavalier. Each and every one—so precious are they—bears a label "Not to be used," and, when one of these is lifted, the discovery is made that some inveterate relic hunter whose zeal has outrun his honesty has, evidently with a watch spring saw, surreptitiously despoiled it of the lion's head in high relief which forms a prominent feature of the general design.

Time was when the Court of Attachment, or Forty Day Court, was held in this same room, and afterwards, somewhere in the early years of the last century, a portion of the structure was used as a boarding-school. It has been affirmed that in days long remote it was a private residence, and it is probable, seeing how small a place was Chigwell and how unlikely to need an inn of anything like the size, that the place was erected originally, perhaps in the reign of Elizabeth, for the use of the Forest Court. However that may be, an inn it is, and an inn it is likely to remain as long as the memory of Dickens is cherished.

As one leaves the inn one naturally glances upwards at the swinging sign on which appears the counterfeit presentment of Charles the First, and one wonders whether some memory thereof, conscious or sub-conscious, was lurking in the mind of the novelist when he hit upon the happy notion of King

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Charles's head, which so much troubled Mr. Dick in *David Copperfield*. The sign was painted by Miss Herring, but it has been renovated from time to time, and probably but little remains of the work of the original artist.

But though "The King's Head" is, perhaps, the most widely known of Essex inns—all over the world where English is a familiar tongue, one may say—there are, within a space which could be covered on a map of 2-inch scale by a baby's hand, a score, nay, many, many more, of quaint and curious and picturesque hostelries. The pedestrian setting out, let us say, from Woodford, need not possess extraordinary powers to compass the whole district in a short day, and the cyclist will find the expedition the merest "potter." Starting at George Lane (South Woodford) station—easily reached from Liverpool Street or Fenchurch Street, at the cost of a humble shilling return fare, with trains so numerous that no one would think of troubling to consult a time-table—the explorer should, on leaving the station, turn over the line by the level crossing and keep straight on until pulled up by the hedge which bounds the road along which he is to turn leftwards; he will thus get clear of villadom and its necessary shops at once. He will be surprised that the milestone he will presently pass, which bears the announcement, "8 miles from London," can be placed amidst such rural surroundings.

In the course of a mile or so he passes through Chigwell, with its "King's Head," and a delightful road, practically free from houses and with glorious stretches of much timbered verdure on either side, brings him presently to Abridge. Here at the very entrance of the village he will come suddenly upon a weather-boarded, timber built structure, "The Maltsters' Arms," whose sign swings out at right angles with the front of the building for the benefit of the wayfarer. You may enter, as did the writer, but, as in so many cases, you will get no information concerning the history of the inn. All the tenants can tell you, or indeed appear to care to know, of the matter is that "it's tarrable old," a fact which, without possessing any very brilliant powers of observation, one can see for oneself, as one can also see that the entire furniture of the bar consists of two beer barrels and some bottles—it is a beer-house only. It is at least satisfactory to know that the customers get their beer "from the wood," if that is a recommendation.

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Yet it has its gateway as if intended for the putting up of vehicles, and a number of straggling outbuildings beyond, though they are most likely used simply for storing the necessary agricultural implements of its present proprietor, who adds the pursuit of husbandry to his calling of licensed innkeeper. This we learn from an "oldest inhabitant" who opportunely makes his appearance as we turn the corner into the village street. Our friend informs us that "The Maltsters' Arms" got its sign from the neighbouring maltings which he points out, the tile-covered truncated cone peculiar to such buildings, surmounted by the usual cowl, from which the vapour engendered by the heated malt has years ago ceased to rise. He remembers when a local brewer used the building for its legitimate purpose, but that was "a long time agoo an' they keeps it now as a sort of store place." All he can tell me about "The Maltsters' Arms" amounts to the fact that "you used to ha' to goo through t' room to goo upstairs, but now they've had t' stair made up from t' cellar." All of which would seem to say that in malting times the inn was more largely patronized, and that the adjoining cottages in exactly the same style of architecture were then a part of the inn.

Abridge itself appears to be a tiny enough and, it must be confessed, a pretty enough place. Here is its little market place—there is a statement to that effect upon the front of one of the houses, at any rate—comprising less than half-a-dozen shops, several of them devoted to the needs of the passing cyclist who thirsts for ginger beer. Here also is "The Blue Boar Inn," as it modestly dubs itself, for it is really a hotel, with a great courtyard in the rear and no end of stabling and carriage accommodation. Yet another hostelry, "The White Hart," red and new, and therefore uninteresting, though doubtless excellent of its kind, thrusts itself into notice, and one wonders what so small a village should want with inns of such dimensions, until one bethinks oneself that this is an age of motoring, and calls to mind that caravanserais to cater for the needs of the tripper—week-ender or otherwise—are springing up like mushrooms in every direction.

A finger-post points out the way to Theydon Bois along a road which crosses the Roding and which passes through meadows, emerald green and bespangled with the gold of buttercups, to where a road—not much more than a lane—to the right leads to Coopersale, where is "The Merry Fiddlers," making the most of itself with a couple of signs, one swinging

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from its front and the other upon the orthodox post. An old world little hostelry this, standing much as it was built in the days when our ancestors delighted in huge chimney places with their cosy corners, the only refuge practically from the fierce draughts to which open rooms and many doors gave full play. The big outside brick chimney tells of the fireplace within the timber-built house, which yet exists, not quite in its pristine immensity, for piles of brick surmounted by cupboards take the place of the ancient settles, and a grate fills the space between, thereby getting rid of the open hearth of more primitive and less comfortable days. It is a grate of enormous proportions, telling of times when firewood was to be had for the asking, or perhaps, more properly, for the annexing. But the necessity for buying coal, and therefore for paying for it, has led to the bricking up of half its gaping orifice. This is the taproom, furnished with tables and benches fixed around the walls, and of unpainted deal, as one would wish. Outside the inn partakes of the same bygone character, its lower story weather-boarded, its upper of lath and plaster.

The landlord, though he can tell us nothing of its history, claims for the inn that it stands in what was the centre of the Forest in the days of King John. "The place is called Coopersale," he says, "but that's not its right name. This is Fiddlers' hamlet, and I've heard people say why it came to be called Coopersale. There used to be an old man of the name of Cooper, who brewed his own beer. It was very good beer, and folks got talking of Cooper's ale, and that's what it got to be called. I've heard the old people about here say too that there used to be a Fiddlers' Fair held here. There's lots of interesting things all round about. Why, there's Hill Hall—you can see it from the doorway about a mile and a half off—a year or so ago they moved Queen Elizabeth's bed, and the carpet and so on from the room where they'd been standing for years. I saw them, and says I, I've never laid on a bed of a queen but I don't see why I shouldn't set on one, so I sets down on the bed. Oh yes, the bed's still there, and the saddle and other things. They only shifted them. I don't know as they didn't take 'em away to have 'em done up, and her chair and a whole lot of things."

It is a moderate climb to Epping, and you may look over the bridge as you cross the line and see the nearest bit of single track to London. Guided by the Decorated tower of

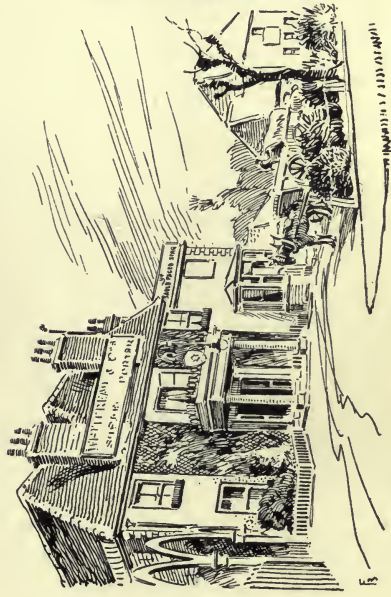
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St. John's, almost the last work of the Royal Academician, G. F. Bodley, the architect of the cathedral of Liverpool and New York—he died before it was completed—which rises up before you stately and magnificent, you find yourself presently in the High Street. It is a wonderful old high street, but little altered from the time when Farmer George was king—it would seem to have gone resolutely to sleep when stage coaches ceased from being. At the first glance it would appear as if every other house was, or had been, an inn with its courtyard for carriages, and in truth, in the olden days Epping was amongst the busiest of coaching places. Let us look in at the "Thatched House" at nearly the further end, one of the oldest, doing itself a manifest injustice when it says, "Established over a century." Somewhere about a century ago it may have been re-fronted, re-windowed, and plastered according to the taste of the period, but the back of the building, which has been much less interfered with, evidently belongs to a considerably earlier date. Here the stabling for sixty horses speaks eloquently of other times than the present. Not many carriages pass nowadays beneath the projecting upper story which spans the entrance to the courtyard from the street. Their place has been taken by the ubiquitous motor, for whose benefit of easy access one of the pillars which were placed there to support the bow window by the original builder has been removed. There are many who yet remember when Epping was by no means the sleepy, quiet-going place of to-day. Here, for instance, is one of its older inhabitants enjoying his glass within the hotel, who can just remember, he tells us, the coaches passing on their way to and from Newmarket and elsewhere. His memory is more vivid of the time when the Great Eastern Railway had spread itself no nearer than Loughton, when twice a day a coach set out for what was then the terminus, meeting the only trains, and charging half-a-crown a head for each passenger who availed himself of its services. He also says that, though Epping has grown out of all knowledge in his time, the extension has been confined entirely to land behind the main street, and that it is there—fortunately for the lover of bygone things—that the villas of the city men have been run up.

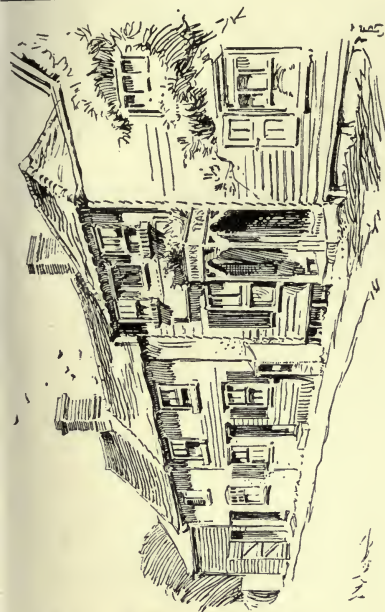
A ride of a mile or so towards London along the high road, bordered on either side by the Forest, brings us to the "Bell." Not the "Bell" of our illustration, unfortunately, for that was cleared away half-a-dozen years since.



The Bell, Epping.



The Bald-faced Stag, Buckhurst Hill.



The Owl, Highbeece.



The George, Woodford.

Drawn by F. Baragwanath.



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The inn has been, however, rebuilt in very good style, so good in fact, that future investigators—assuming modern houses to last the necessary length of time—may be puzzled to assign to it its proper date. We may be permitted to regret the loss of the old house with its plastered, whitewashed front, its high sloping roof, its tiny paned casements, its benches and trestled tables, its general air of the bygone. It was the oldest house in the district, and to our surprise, the landlord can tell us something of its history. In the olden days drovers were constantly passing with their herds, destined perhaps for the neighbouring Epping—there is a cattle market there yet every Friday—or perhaps for further afield, even to London, and the “Bell” was a great house of call for these—frequently thirsty—gentry. It is on record that, something like half a century since, the “Bell” got into the Law Courts upon the question whether certain drovers who had been served with refreshment—liquid is, of course, understood—had come the necessary three miles in order to qualify them as *bona-fide* travellers. It was then proved that the house had been licensed as a house of refreshment for travellers for upwards of three hundred years, who were entitled to be served with such refreshment. It is pretty certain that the old building dated back to the three centuries. The landlord’s family had held the premises for fifty-five years, and he was a little proud of the fact that it was “a free house,” the only free house in the road, he said, and that, notwithstanding, they had dealt with the same firm of brewers all the time, and that they were the oldest customers on the books of Charrington and Co. He could chat also of the Epping Hunt, and could tell us incidentally what is not generally known, namely that the stag was “blooded” before the hunt, a vein being opened to make it more easy for the *soi-disant* sportsmen who joined in the scramble to run it down. Apart from that, he thought there was little cruelty in the proceeding, as the animal was soon captured, and good care was taken that it should not be injured.

The present building is, as we have said, a very good specimen of a small country inn, and it is happy in not being disfigured by the customary brewers’ sign-boards—can this be owing to the fact of its “freedom?” It is picturesque and characteristic with its boldly broken elevation; and, with the broad common on the opposite side of the road, saved in some miraculous way from the land-grabbing legislators of

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the latter part of the eighteenth century—perhaps it is part of the Forest—it has a charming look out. There are even geese upon the common as we glance across it, though at the moment, at any rate, we do not see cattle or the cottager's donkey. That would be too much to expect, perhaps. Let us be thankful for such mercies as we have.

Still on the same pleasant road the "Wake Arms" comes shortly into view, an inn of ancient standing, but the existing building not sufficiently attractive to tempt one to alight. A road to the right leads to High Beech, where are to be found inns to one's heart's content, which have attained a certain amount of celebrity, such as the "King's Oak" and the "Robin Hood," both intimately associated with the Hunt, to say nothing of "Dick Turpin's Cave," where you may see pistols, swords, and other relics, all, more or less authoritatively, said to have belonged to the redoubtable highwayman. Descrying an ancient at work in his garden, we inquire if there are any old inns thereabouts.

"Ees," he says, speaking in the dialect common to the country before the days of the Elementary Education Act, "theer be, lots on 'em. Theer's t' old 'Owl' backen theer beyond they trees. You'll ha' to tarn t' right presently an' goo up a stiffish bit o' hill. That's a old un; and then theer's t' 'Dook'; that's older still. T' 'Owl' can goo back a rare bit, I reckon, but t' 'Dook' goes back a'most to t' year dot."

Upon the strength of the ancient's recommendation we set out for the "Owl." The sign of "t' Dook" did not seem promising. The Duke of Wellington is the gentleman in question, thought we, and as it turned out we were in the right, for the "Dook," we were told, was quite a modern house as such things go. The stiffish bit of hill did not belie its reputation—it appears that the Essex Automobile Club turn it to account for their annual hill-climbing competition, as being about the worst in all the county. Furthermore, flints had been dumped upon it to the depth of a foot or so, and the authorities responsible had not yet found time to roll them in. But at length there was the "Owl," and it was at once evident it could go back, to use my friend's phrase, "a rare bit," four hundred years, the landlady affirmed, on the strength of a date carved on a beam of the roof which was exposed when some repairs were being made. However that may be, it turned out to be a delightful old domicile, its weather-boarded front half covered with a Virginian creeper, its roof red-tiled

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as usual, its door be-porticoed with a wooden erection, which spoke eloquently of the craft of some local carpentering genius. There were, too, rustic wooden benches on which one could rest whilst enjoying the prospect across the valley below. A flying owl, evidently painted with skill, the work of a lady amateur as it appeared, but not improved by subsequent "restoration," stood for a sign.

There was a tiny bar-parlour, cosiest of such apartments, with a tall grandfather's clock—the genuine, not the Wardour Street article—which ticked away solemnly against the wall, and a veritable Georgian china-cupboard with spindley tracery to its glazed doors, which stood modestly in a corner. Though there were no beams visible, a projection from the ceiling told of some antiquated arrangement of the fireplace in the room above, and though the bar-parlour was so small it was the proud possessor of three doorways. The room adjoining, long, low-ceilinged, would have formed a fitting setting for one of Dendy Sadler's pictures. The love of old things is growing, thanks be, and it warmed our heart to hear the hostess saying, "Visitors who come here ask me when I am going to begin to modernize the house, because, they say, 'we shall not come any more. It's so comfortable in the old way that we don't want it altered in the least.'" She tells me she has lived there forty years, and that she never tires of the glorious outlook. Her old people can remember when the herds of deer were driven up and out of the gateway at the side of the house. It was a great hunting district, she adds, so far back as the time of Queen Elizabeth.

A little off the road on the way back to Woodford stands the "Bald-faced Stag," at Buckhurst Hill; suggestive enough sign this of the Epping Hunt already referred to, that delight of the Cockney sportsman. What was the origin of the Hunt history sayeth not, and opinions are divided as to the share the Lord Mayor and Corporation took in its annual celebration. During the early years of the last century it had degenerated into a mere rough-and-tumble saturnalia, which gave an excuse for an irruption of all the roughs of the East End, thirsting, as well for beer as for the licence the proceedings permitted, until it became at length so intolerable a nuisance that, in 1882, it was abolished, root and branch and for ever. This same "Bald-faced Stag" was one of the inns which in those times looked for a large accession of feasters and guzzlers on the Hunt day. It was the custom to carry

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the carted stag from inn to inn for the benefit of the various hostelries and of its custodians, who levied a toll of a few pence upon those who were desirous of having a peep at the poor animal. The inn stood in those days as it stands now, nothing altered, somewhat back from the road, so as to be seen at its best, with whitewashed walls, a roof of marvellous pitch and of dormer windows, a Georgian portico, and a bow window which gives a welcome break to its flat façade and, when the sun shines, a pleasant bit of light and shadow. Stacks of chimneys rise, strong and vigorous, from the afore-said marvellous high-pitched roof, and there are outbuildings galore, picturesque and anciently fashioned, to tell of the days when the roads were alive with hurrying coaches, before the railway had rendered them comparatively a desert.

So, past the "Horse and Well," formerly the "Horse and Groom," until the discovery of a certain so-called medicinal spring which gave Woodford the hope, very shortly dispelled, of becoming a second Epsom, furnished it with an excuse for changing its name. Its sign-post is curious in that it is surmounted by a running fox, but since the pseudo-classic portico, which existed as late as the eighties at least, has disappeared, spoiling altogether the front of the house, there is nothing else curious or noteworthy about it.

Further on, however, one comes to the "George," an inn, to judge from certain innate evidence and the testimony of an almost adjoining row of houses, in essentials very much in the same style, considerably older than its sign. An endeavour has been made to bring it up to date therewith, and to an extent, unfortunately, the endeavour has been successful. It has been refronted and given the would-be classic doorway—picturesque enough in itself—of the fashion beloved at the period, and to which kindly Time has lent a certain charm. The characteristic brickwork dentils beneath the eaves of the houses referred to have been improved away beneath a coating of stucco, and the roof tiles have been replaced by slates, but the inn has managed to retain in many respects its old-world appearance. Probably in the coaching days it had its share of business as a house at which horses and vehicles could be hired, but the buildings—some of them at least—have been appropriated long since to some other object. One of them is occupied by the village saddler, as we may be permitted to call him, for just at this spot there is quite an absence of the modern villa element, and for a hundred yards

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or so along the high road the village aspect is astonishingly preserved. Moreover, the "George" owes much of its pleasant appearance to the greenery with which it is well nigh covered. A wistaria of great age and enormous gnarled and straggling branches brightens it twice a year with the glory of its long spikes of blossom, and its lighter foliage contrasts charmingly with the dark leaves of the ivy which struggles for its place on the building. All this is helped by the delicate green of the lime trees, planted so close to the walls that only the severest pruning keeps their branches within bounds, so that the rooms they shadow may have their due amount of light and air.

A bystander informs us that the house is over three hundred years old, though he does not give his authority, and we may be pardoned for receiving the statement with a certain amount of hesitation. He further tells us that King George used to ride out here often, and that he planted that tree, directing our attention to an elm guarded by railings close to the inn. He does not know which King George it was, but in proof of the accuracy of his story he points triumphantly to the fact that this is the "George," and that the lane leading from it to the railway station is George Lane. Well, well, history has often been written on no better evidence, and wishing our friend "Good day," we take the route which, in part, His Majesty, whoever he might have been, so often ambled over, and so get back to the line, and to town.

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BY WILLIAM FOSTER.

[Continued from p. 38.]

ALTHOUGH, as we have seen, the Committees had their occasional feasts, for the most part they lived laborious days and took life very seriously. References to religious topics are frequent in the records. Quite in the spirit of the time, the arrival of a ship from the Indies in safety was looked upon as a signal mark of Divine favour,

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requiring due acknowledgment in the form of a service of thanksgiving, at which the Court attended in state; while any unexpected blow to their trading was similarly regarded as indicating the displeasure of the Almighty. They were always most careful to impress upon the commanders of their vessels and the factors in India the importance of religious observances; and daily prayer, morning and evening, "with diligent eyes that none be wantinge," was the rule on all their ships.

In some of their admonitions the spiritual and the material were mingled in an amusing manner, as in the following quaint account of the speech delivered by Smythe to the outgoing factors in 1614:

The factors presenting themselves in courte, Mr. Governour put them in remembrance of their duties both to God and their maisters that employed them, adviseinge them to live lovinglie, and dischargde the trust reposed in them conscionable and carefully, avoydeing all private trade (as hath bene often admonisht), and employinge their whole endeavours for the good and advantage of the Company and generall buysines; acquaintinge them with the Companies care to furnish them with all things needfull both for their spirituall comfort and the health of their bodies, as alsoe bookes of divinitie for the soule and history to instruct the mynde; gyveinge them likewise to understand how offensivelie some of their factors and servaunts now residing in the East Indies have carryed themselves in those parts; and therefore admonisht them to be the more respective and shunne all synne and evill behaviour, that the heathen may take noe advantage to blaspheme our religion by the abuses and ungodlie behaviour of our men.

Naturally, the selection of a chaplain for a ship or settlement was looked upon as a most important duty. As a rule the candidate was required to preach a trial sermon from a given text;¹ and on the following court day the Committees would discuss his efforts with the keenness of connoisseurs. Strict inquiry was made into the antecedents of any minister seeking an appointment. The verdict on one candidate (March 22, 1614) was "that there is as ill a reporte goeth of

¹ These sermons were usually preached at the parish church, St. Bennet Gracechurch, which stood at the junction of Fenchurch Street and Gracechurch Street. It was burnt down in the Great Fire, rebuilt by Wren in 1685, and destroyed in 1867 to make room for offices.

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him as of any aboute this towne of his coate ; soe that, havinge many good parts but his lyfe not awnswerable, they were unwillinge to employe him." And here is a similar case, recorded on the minutes of the same meeting.

Some haveinge had conference with Mr. Doctour Layfeild concerninge a preacher, one Mr. Sturdivant, formerlie nominated unto this Courte, doe reporte his opinion that he hath a stragglinge humour, can frame himselfe to all company, as he finds men affected, and delighteth in tobacco and wyne; which they conceyveinge to be unfit parts for one of his profession, and him for their employment, lefte him upon those tearmes.

Just before Christmas, 1616, at the church of St. Dionis Backchurch, in the presence of the Governor and Committees, the first native of India to be converted by an Anglican clergyman was baptized into the Church of England. This youth, "borne in the Bay of Bengala," was picked up at Bantam by the Rev. Patrick Copland, chaplain in Best's fleet; and on his arrival in England (1614) the Company resolved to have him placed at school and instructed in religion, with the idea of sending him out again as a missionary to his own people. In July, 1615, Mr. Copland was able to report that his pupil was ready for baptism, which it was thought should be "publickly effected, being the first fruits of India." The ceremony did not actually take place until December 22 of the following year, when the convert received the name of Peter, to which King James (for reasons not easily discernible) added the surname of Pope. The lad returned to the East with Copland in 1617, but what became of him is not recorded, though three letters of his (printed as an appendix to his tutor's sermon, *Virginia's God be thanked*, 1622) show that he was alive in 1620. These letters are written in Latin and prove that he had mastered that language in addition to English.

To the London clergy donations were frequently given. In October, 1614, for instance, the Governor suggested a grant of money to some of the poorer ministers of the City "to have their prayers for the good and prosperitie of their voyadges;" with the result that £100 was placed at his disposal for this purpose, though at the same time the Committees, with a touch of commercial shrewdness, recorded their intention "not to tye themselves unto the like annuallie,

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butt as God should move their harts upon occasions presented."

Such being the tendencies of the governing body, we can understand the indignation with which they learned that Captain Saris, who had commanded the first English ship sent to Japan and was now staying as a guest at the Governor's house, had shown to several persons certain books and pictures of dubious character brought home by him. The matter was at once laid before the Court, as "a greate scandall unto this Companye and unbeseeinge their gravitie to permitte;" and Smythe "assured them of his dislike thereof, the rather for that yt was in his howse; and therefore purposed to gett them out of his [Saris's] haunds yf possible he could, to bee burnt or otherwise disposed of as the Company shoulde thinke fitt, or else to free his house of them and him both." His remonstrances appear to have been effectual, for three weeks later

Mr. Governor acquainted them that, greate speeches havinge bene made of certaine bookes brought home by Captaine Saris, which causde the Companie and Mr. Governour's house to bee censurde, he hath procured them from Captaine Saris, and shut them up ever since, and nowe hath brought them forth, that such as have heard derogatorye speeches used upon the Exchange and elsewhere should nowe likewise be eye witnesses of the consuminge them in the fire, which he hoped would give satisfaction to any honestlie affected, that such wicked spectacles are not fostered and mayntayned by any of this Companie. And thereupon in open presence putt them into the fire, where they contynued till they were burnt and turnd into smoke.

Saris had spent many years in the East, and apparently had acquired views on moral questions which were not at all to the taste of his masters. Quite otherwise was the unnamed individual referred to in the following extract from the minutes of August 29, 1621:

A note unsealed was delivered to Mr. Governour, sitting [in] the Courte, and thereinclosed a peece of gould of 22s.; the direction: "To the Right Worshipfull the Governour and Companie trading to the East Indies," and it followed: "Right Worshipful, maie it please you to be certified that one who in times past was employed in the service of the Companie did defraude the Companie in a small comoditie, under the valew of 20s.; who since, beeing troubled in con-

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science, cann have no quiet till a full restitution be made to you to whome the wronge was donn, and therefore restoareth this inclosed, craving pardon for the offence, as from God, so from the whole Companie."

The Court applauded much the good motion of this partie, and having freely and unanimously forgiven the offence, commaunded that the said peece of gould should be putt into the poores boxe: which by the Companies Secretary was performed accordinglie.

The minutes for September 25, 1617, furnish an interesting example of the care with which the City guilds and fellowships maintained their privileges:

A complainte havinge bene formerlie made by the Rulers of the Porters against Robert Pore, a porter employed by the Companie in their warehouse, for that he refuseth to submitte himselfe to bee registred amongst them, or to paye quartridge to their hall, hee pretendinge that hee is noe porter butt servaunt to the Companie, havinge never carryed burthen in the streetes; and, beeinge free of the Joyners, thinckes much to bee enforced to paye quarteridge to annother hall. They thereupon desiringe leave to putt him in suite, these Committees were entreated to heare and determyne their difference. And they producinge an Acte of Common Councell for their authoritie, it appeared that, to bridle the abuses of straungers, whoe thrust themselves without order to carryinge of burthens, removeinge from place to place, whereby much wronge hath bene done and the parties nott to bee found, and the worke taken out of the handes of poore freemen whoe might bee releived thereby, it was therefore enacted that those Rulers should cause such personns to register their names with them and give three pence for the same, and take notice of their habitacions and removes whensoever they should happen. Theis Committees conceyveinge the said order to bee very necessarie and good to maynetaine order in the Cittye, enjoyned the said Pore to submitte himselfe to bee registred accordinglye, and to paye the dutye imposed. Butt they urginge for their quarteridge to their hall, and demandinge half a crowne for the said registringe, these Committees would not enjoyne to more then was mentioned in the said Acte, but lefte them to themselves for any other thinges that shalbe questioned betwixt them.

The Committees were the recipients from time to time of many offers of new ideas, from suggestions of voyages to various unknown countries down to "a virginall that may bee

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had of 14 $\frac{1}{2}$. or 15 $\frac{1}{2}$. price, for twoe to plaie upon at once; and by a pynne puld out one man will make both to goe, which is a delightfull sight for the jacks to skipp up and downe in such manner as they will, besides the musique." One man anticipated a modern invention by a plan for distilling fresh water from salt;¹ nothing came of it, though the idea was certainly more worthy of consideration than a proposal made in 1614 that the ships should be supplied from a well in Suffolk, the water of which would keep five years. In 1619 an "old Frenchman" offered to reveal a way of cutting asunder the cordage of shipping with cannon shot, provided he were paid a thousand pounds down and a pension of a hundred a year for life; the Committees, however, roundly declared that it was "but a trick," and refused to have anything to do with him. Then, too, offers of service came in from queer individuals. Thus, in October, 1615, "A younge man, one John Stamer, by trade a fletcher, made knowne his suite by wrightinge, that findinge his trade to decaye and devisinge of some course of life, hee was pincht in his sleepe, and cald sundrye times in his sleepe by his name, willinge him to goe to Sir Thomas Smith and proffer his service for the East Indyees." Apparently the Committees thought there might be something worthy of respect in these supernatural promptings, for they resolved to grant the applicant's request and employ him on board one of the ships under the eye of the master.

But perhaps the strangest subject of debate recorded during this period is the following. "The Kinge of Sumatra haveinge manifested his affection to this nation by desyringe His Majestie to graunte him one of his subjects for wife, with sundrye proffers of priviledges to such yssue as God shall

¹ A similar project was submitted by a foreigner in December, 1623, but the Court would say no more than that if the project could be proved feasible they would adopt it and reward the inventor. During the discussion on this point "it was remembred that Capteyne Towerson, beeing scanted of fresh water, with the help of stilles did draw both water and houlesome water"—an interesting episode which does not appear to be on record elsewhere. Later on, in November, 1640, "a proposition was this day presented by letter from Mr. Mathew Cradock, made unto him by two Germans, for the extractinge out of sea water fresh water which would never putrify but bee very usefull for their shippes in their voyages to the Indies upon all occasions, and for instance a glasse of the said water was presented to the Court. But the Court being full of other busines could not at this tyme give any resolution heerein, but referred the same to further consideration."

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send unto them, a proposition was thereupon red, made by a gentleman of honourable parentage, whoe proffereth his daughter in marriage unto him, she beinge knowne to some of this Company to bee a gentlewoman of most excellent parts for musicke, her needle, and good discourse, as alsoe very beatifull and personable." This extraordinary proposal occasioned much discussion. Some thought it an excellent suggestion, inasmuch as "the marryage may (by the secreete providence of God) be a means for the propagation of the Gospell and very beneficiall to this Countrey by a settled trade there." Others considered that no good was likely to come out of such an alliance, either to the Company or to the young lady. In the end it was decided to defer a decision until they could learn whether "the action ytselve may by the judgment of the learned fathers of the Church bee approved and held lawfull." Three weeks later the matter came up again. "The gentleman prosecuteth his former proposition for his daughter's goinge to the Kinge of Sumatra, and haveinge heard of certaine objections made by some divines, hath collected certaine reasons and sett them downe in wrightinge to approve by Scripture the lawfulness of the enterprize; which were now red and held to bee very pregnant and good." It was suggested that the King's other wives would probably poison the young Englishwoman if she should find favour in his eyes; but to this her father replied that if His Majesty loved her he would take the necessary measures to preserve her against such practices. At last the Court decided that the question had better be laid before the British Solomon: "yf hee [the father] could worke His Majesties consent, it was thought yt would prove a very honourable action to this lande and His Majestie." As nothing more is heard of the matter, it may be taken that more sensible counsels prevailed. This was fortunate for the personable young gentlewoman, as the Achin Raja—the monarch here referred to—is described by one of the English factors as "almost a madman, wilful and wild," with an unpleasant way of ordering the instant decapitation of anyone who excited his anger.

Now turn we to our main story. The value of Smythe's services was fully recognized by the Company, at all events during the first few years. At the annual meeting of 1609 the sum of £500 was voted to him for "his paines taken in the place of Governour of the Company for the space of fyve yeares, in procureing the first and second patents," and other

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benefits. This amount, however, he thought excessive; and so "His Worship, lovinglie accepting of the Companies kindnes herein, utterlie refused to take the oath of Governor untill the Company were first contented to take backe of his said gratification the some of £250. The residue His Worship kindlie yealded to take." In 1614 another £500 was voted to him, and in the following year a thousand marks [£666 13s. 4d.]. The minutes for 1616 and 1617 are missing, and we have no means of telling whether any further payment of the kind was made in those years. In 1618 and 1619 no allowance was even proposed—in the latter year avowedly because the "generality" were discontented and unlikely to grant anything to anybody. The Company was in fact making no headway, owing chiefly to the troubles with the Dutch; and many of the shareholders were inclined to lay the blame on Smythe's shoulders. To a great extent this was unreasonable; yet it must be allowed that, for an old man, he had rather too many irons in the fire. As his epitaph proudly recites, he was, at one time or another, "Governour of the East India, Moscovia, French, and Sommer Iland Companies: Treasurer for the Virginian Plantation: Prime Undertaker (in the year 1612) for that noble designe the discoverie of the North-West Passage: Principal Commissioner for the London expedition against the Pirates, and for a voiage to the Ryver Senega upon the Coast of Africa: one of the cheefe Commissioners for the Navie Roial." It had been well for his own peace of mind if he had decided to retire earlier; for when opposition manifested itself his pride was touched and he only clung the more desperately to office.

The storm broke first in the Virginia Company, the mismanagement of which was largely attributed to him. "It had become the fashion in Virginia," writes Dr. Gardiner (*History of England*, vol. iii, p. 161), "to look upon him as the source of all the evils that had befallen the colony, and though there was probably some exaggeration in this, the charges brought against him were not without foundation. His temper was easy, and he was lax in his attention to the duties of his office." After a struggle the reform party prevailed, and at the election of April, 1619, Smythe, much to his disgust, was passed over in favour of Sir Edwin Sandys; whereupon ensued a long wrangle between the two parties, in which the King's influence was exerted, though without avail, on the side of Smythe and his friends.

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This agitation could not fail to react upon the East India Company; and accordingly, on July 2, 1619, we find the Committees gloomily contemplating the "disturbances and innovations intended at the Court of Ellection." These, they declared, originated with certain gentlemen, who, having been "taken into the Company by courtesie, do ayme to get all the government into their hands," whereas it was "a buysines proper onlie for merchants, and gentlemen unexperient to manage buysines of that nature." As the most effectual way of dealing with the expected opposition, it was decided to induce "some person of countenance" to undertake the defence and persuade the generality to re-elect the present holders of office; and for this duty they decided upon Lord Digby, better known perhaps by his later title of Earl of Bristol. Smythe, no doubt, at once posted to court, where he not only secured Digby's assistance but the promise of help from a still more influential quarter.

The general meeting took place on the same day. Smythe opened it with a speech of studied moderation. He had heard, he said, that "many of the generalitie are discontented and desirous to have the buysines for the election to be caryed in another forme then formerly hath bene." For himself, he had no wish to retain office; he and the other members of the administrative body had done their best for the Company; if anyone had charges to bring, let him speak out; and in that case he would suggest the appointment of a committee of investigation, to report at a later Court. Further, as some doubts had been expressed as to the financial position, he proposed the election of six or eight auditors from the general body to go thoroughly into the accounts. A motion was at once made for the appointment of such a body, but this was negatived on the ground that the election of the executive must necessarily be the first business. Then the winning card was played. Lord Digby rose and said that he had a message to deliver from the King. In this His Majesty assured them of his esteem for the Company and his determination to uphold them against the Dutch, and went on to say that he much approved the way in which their business had hitherto been managed; "and many of them having had often and free access unto him, he knowes the factes of some of them well, Sir Thomas Smith and some others, *and will not have any alteration of them.*" His Lordship then proceeded to state his own opinion that "this is no convenient time now

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for alterations," particularly as delegates from the Dutch East India Company had just arrived to negotiate upon matters in dispute; "distractions may much hurt the buysines, and the Dutch may take advantage of innovations, having given out that they have as good frends at Court as the English."

This strong intimation of the King's wishes, and of the damage likely to result to the Company's interests in the coming negotiations should they be ignored, made the position of the reform party hopeless. As a last resource, however, one of their number proposed a vote by ballot.

Before any question was propounded, Mr. John Holloway presented a balletting box,¹ to make the election by, a thing promised by him in the last year, as he said, and now per-fourmed; but the Lords and others present, houlding it a noveltye not formerly used nor knowne in theis elections, but a meanes to disturbe the whole buysines . . . did judge the aucthour thereof worthie of blame that did present it to interrupt the course intended by so gracious a message from His Majestie, and therefore caused it to be taken away, and concluded by erection of hands to have it put by for this year, and election to procede according to the ould manner without any alteration or innovation.

The result was now a foregone conclusion. Although, for

¹ Within the last few years a ballot-box which has long been in use at Saddlers' Hall has been discovered to be the very box rejected by the East India Company on this occasion. It is a handsome piece of work, being richly ornamented in gold and colours with figures of birds, beasts and flowers, somewhat in Chinese fashion. The box is about eighteen inches high, and measures at the base eighteen inches by thirteen. In the front is a projecting mouthpiece into which the hand was thrust in order to drop the ballot-ball into either the right or the left compartment, or (if a third alternative were given) into the compartment at the back, which was ordinarily shut off by a wooden screen. These divisions contain circular depressions, with holes in the centre of each through which the ball dropped into the drawer beneath. The front of the box is ornamented on the one side by the royal coat-of-arms, with the initials "I.R." (Jacobus Rex), and on the other by the escutcheon of the East India Company, though in the latter the artist, working perhaps from memory, has inadvertently substituted a rose for the royal arms in the point of the chief. On the inside of the lid is the date 1619, which sufficiently connects the box with the one offered to the East India Company in that year. The Saddlers' Company's records throw no light on the question how the box came to be in their possession. A photograph of this interesting box will be found in *Relics of the Honourable East India Company*, by Sir George Birdwood and William Foster, London, 1909.

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form's sake three others were nominated with him, Smythe was chosen Governor "by a generall and free consent."

We have no official account of the 1620 election; but it appears that the pressure exercised in the previous year was repeated, for a letter of the time says that on July 4, "Sir Thomas Smythe without any contradiction was re-established Governor of the East India Company, by reason of a letter from the King wishing them not to alter their officers and committees." No doubt, in invoking this unwarrantable interference, Smythe thought that he was acting in the best interests of the Company: when a man has enjoyed a long lease of power, it is natural for him to look upon himself as indispensable and to regard all opposition as factious; but it is none the less to be regretted that this infraction of the freedom of election granted by the charter should have been brought about by the very person who had been chiefly instrumental in procuring the privileges of the Company.

However, this state of affairs could not continue indefinitely. At last the opposition grew too strong to be resisted; and when the election for 1621 approached Smythe determined to give way. The Company met on July 4 in the great hall of Crosby House. We can imagine the scene: the benches packed with the "generality": the little cluster of Committees and officials at the table at the upper end; and the bowed figure of the Governor in the chair he was soon to quit for ever. Here is the official summary of his opening speech:

Mr. Governour declared unto the Companie the cause of assembling this Court, which was, according to their annuall custome, to chuse their officers, and to begin first with the Governour; and therewithall expressing his owne weakenes of bodie, said he was not so able for the place as some other they might make choice of, and therefore if they pleased to spare him they should see that he could as well obey as commaund, and that if they made a worthie choice (as he doubted not but they would), they should do well for themselves and for him; for that he hath good interest in the stock, being an adventurer almost 20,000 poundes deepe. And therewith remooved himself out of the chare and satt upon a seate by.

Four names were proposed, including Smythe's, and according to custom the candidates withdrew. When they returned, it was to learn that "by erection of hands Mr. Alderman Hollidaie was chosen Governour of the Companie for the yeare ensuinge;" and thereupon the new Governor was

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sworn and inducted into the place of honour. Smythe's opponents had thus gained what they had so long been striving for; and having done this, they were quite ready to join in recognizing the value of his past services. When, therefore, Halliday, who was an old friend of his, proposed at the end of the sitting to invite Sir Thomas's continued co-operation in the deliberations of the Committees, all present welcomed the motion.

Mr. Governour mooved the Court that howsoever they had elected him to be their Governour, yet the long experience of Sir Thomas Smith and his judgement in th'affaires of the Companie is such that he should ill be spared at their consultations, and therefore praied them that they would intreat him to assist them at their meetings; which was done by manie of the Companie, who also thanked him for the paines he had taken in the time of his government. Sir Thomas Smith said he would be ready to giv his best advise and assistaunce at all times when the abilitie of his bodie would permitt, but when he should speake in a Court of Committees he would be loth that anie man should stand up and tell him he had no voice there. They therefore ordered that by an authoritie derived from this Courte he should have a voice among the Committees, and if anie of those now elected shall fall of, Sir Thomas Smith shall fill upp that place.

The termination of Smythe's governorship was closely followed by the removal of the Company's offices from Philpot Lane to Crosby House.

We should have been glad to say in conclusion somewhat about the later history of the house in which the Company had found its first lodging; but on this subject we know practically nothing. Smythe himself was living there in January, 1625, but he retired before long to his house at Sutton-at-Hone, in Kent, and in that peaceful spot he died on September 4, 1625, probably from the plague, which was raging in the neighbourhood at the time. He was buried in the little church of Sutton-at-Hone. For a drawing of the tomb, which is a beautiful specimen of a Jacobean monument and well worth the somewhat tedious pilgrimage from town, see an article on Smythe by Mr. J. F. Wadmore in *Archæologia Cantiana*. The epitaph we have already quoted in part. His will (which included small bequests to the principal members and servants of the East India Company "to make them ringes to weare for my sake") contains no mention of

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any property in Philpot Lane; but he may already have made over his house there by deed. If, as is probable, it was still standing in 1666, the Great Fire wrote FINIS upon its history. The whole of that neighbourhood was devastated by the conflagration; and a certain Mr. Pepys, walking gingerly about the town on September 5, found "Fanchurch-streete, Gracious-streete, and Lumbard-streete all in dust."

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BY J. TAVENOR-PERRY.

PLAXTOLE, although so near to London, may be described generally as an "out-of-the-way" place, for it is three or four miles away from the nearest railway station, it lies on no turnpike road, and being as protected by its "hilly bulwarks" as was Jerusalem of old, it is not afflicted with motor-cars dashing in or out of it to disturb its peaceful solitudes. Its name, too, is but little known, and how it came by that name is an interesting enigma, having contrived to get along during the first few centuries of its existence without it; in fact, its name is the most modern thing of which it can boast. When it first received the name we can pretty well determine, for the first known mention of it occurs either in a proclamation attributed to Charles I, or a licence granted by Archbishop Laud in 1637. But on the question of how it came by that name we are left entirely to conjecture. A late Rector, having found the place altogether delectable, fondly believed that its first name was Placentia, given to it by some early Roman settler in the parish; but the commonly accepted derivation of it from Playstool is the more probable. The word "playstool" is found throughout Kent, and is given in Pegge's *Kenticisms* as the piece of land on which the village Passion or Miracle plays were performed. There is still a "playstool" south of Benenden churchyard, and Gilbert White, in his *Natural History of Selborne*, gives an account of the "pleystor" in his village; while in Queen Elizabeth's time there certainly was one at Lydsted by Sittingbourne, for in the will of Herbert Finch (proved 6 Elizabeth, 1563-4), we read: *Cognitis et vocatis per nomina de . . . Playstool, Playstool croft, et Masons grove, cum pertinenciis in Lynsted predicta.*

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Doubtless the church of Plaxtole was erected on the "playstool" of the parish. How the *y* was finally converted into an *x* is easily understood by those who know how extremely slight is the difference between the two letters in Court hand, and how easy it is for any one to make a mistake when transcribing it in roman type.

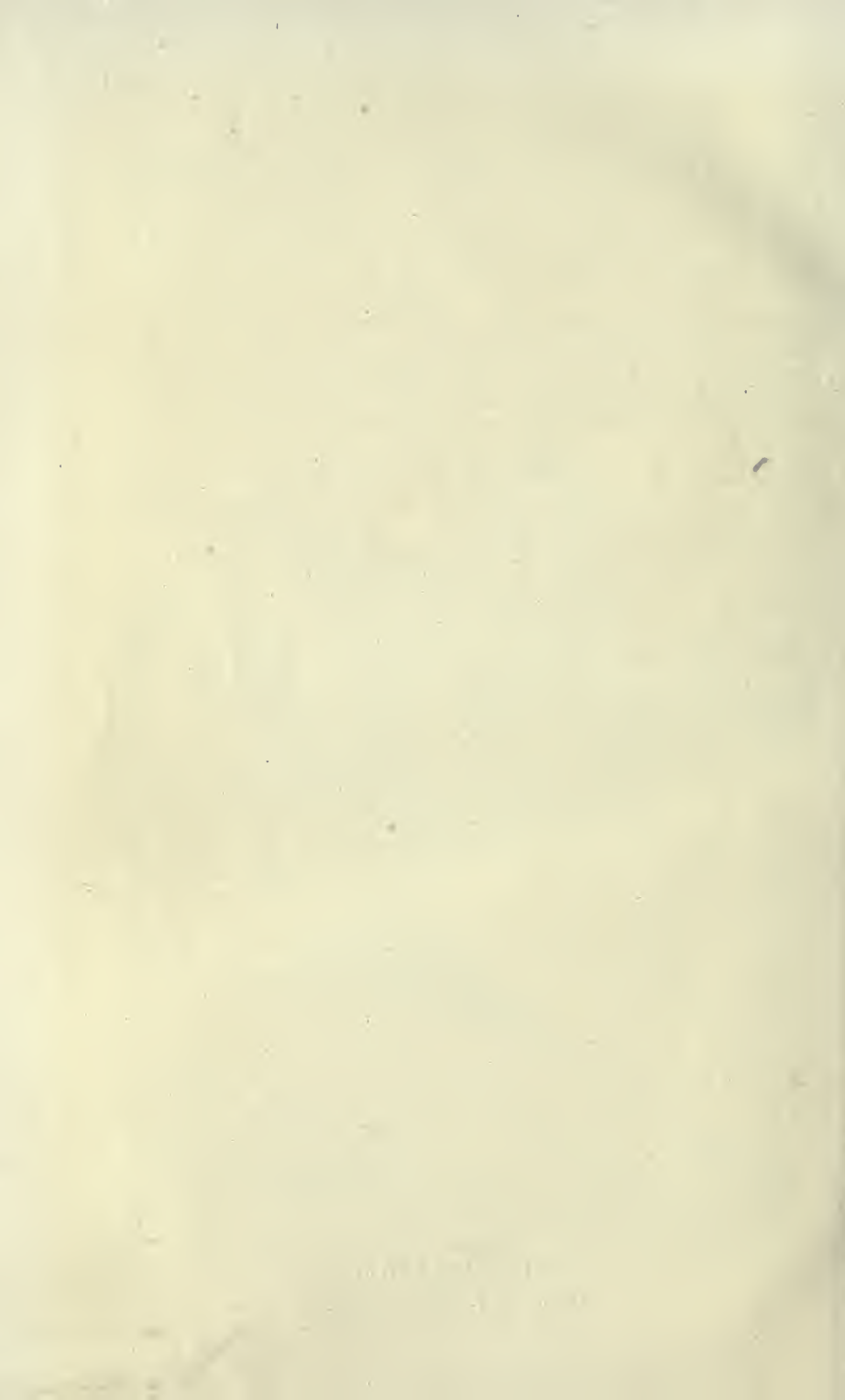
The village of Plaxtole may claim to be as old as, if not older than, the hills by which it is surrounded, and it has been a place of habitation from the earliest dawn of civilization. The geologic changes which have occurred in its neighbourhood since palæolithic man first sheltered himself in its valley have been very great. The little stream which now runs through its low-lying lands southward into the Medway, once flowed, a greater river, in the opposite direction, and had helped to wear away the various strata which once covered the Weald. On the banks of this ancient river, the bed of which can still be traced from Plaxtole into the Darent, lived the makers of the Eoliths which are still found on the slopes of Oldbury; and from their day to this, for the complete denudation of the Weald was a very slow and gradual geologic change, the place has been more or less occupied. The modern village itself is built on the escarpment of the Lower Greensand; and the alterations in the surface of the Weald are here very apparent. According to accepted geological evidence, the chalk of the North and South Downs once overspread all the Weald of Kent and Sussex, and has been gradually eaten out and worn down by the action of streams which have grown, in Kent into the Stour and the Medway, and in Sussex, into the Rother, the Ouse, the Adur, and the Arun. The result of this erosion is the exposure of the Wealden clays whence the Lower Greensand and the chalk have both been worn away, leaving to the north and south escarpments of rock; and over the rest of the area, where only the chalk has been eroded, exposing the Lower Greensand and the two great chalk escarpments of the North and South Downs. It is on this band of Greensand between the wooded Weald and the barren downs—described by local proverb as the abode of "health and wealth" in contradistinction to mere "health" on the hills and mere "wealth" in the Weald—that the more important medieval villages of Kent are built.

The height of these escarpments is very considerable. The chalk downs at the end of the Plaxtole valley, above Yaldham, rise to a level of 759 feet above the sea, while the hills at the

1840



Plaxtole Church.
Drawn by J. Tavenor-Perry.



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outcrop of the Lower Greensand, a little to the west of Plaxtole, reach the respectable height of 666 feet; but from the character of the stone of which they are composed their fall to the Weald below is much more broken and gradual than the precipitous edge of the chalk, and their great height is therefore not so manifest, except from a distance. It was through this belt of Greensand that the ancient river wore its way, going northward to the Thames, and the sides of the Plaxtole valley, which once formed its banks, are now tumbled masses of rag stone, rising gradually to the hill-summits on either side, and now rounded and clothed with the soil overlying them. To these circumstances is due the charming aspect of the valley; and to these and its sheltered position may be attributed the continuity of its occupation through all periods and ages. As all these geologic changes have for the present left it we will attempt to describe it.

Looking northward from the lofty Wealden hills about Tonbridge, the entrance to the valley seems but a cleft in the fir-crowned heights which stretch from beyond Sevenoaks on the left to Maidstone on the right; but as we approach it and strike the banks of the little stream which now flows southward through it, we find the sides of it slanting upwards in easy gradients and disclosing a pleasant prospect of pasture and cultivated lowland, covered with orchards and hop-gardens, dotted with tree-surrounded farmhouses, and with wooded uplands of beech and elm to the summits overshadowed by dark masses of pine woods. And the valley, winding a little in its length of three or four miles opens on to the plain of the Wrotham valley along which the ancient river swept at the foot of the North Downs, which close the vista. Such is the Plaxtole valley of to-day; and such it doubtless was, save for the accidents of cultivation, when Neolithic man reared the stone monuments of Coldrum and Addington, and fortified the heights of Oldbury, which guard its northern outlet.

There is nothing to determine the date when the Romans first became acquainted with the locality, although in all probability it was not long after their conquest of the south of the country. The Wrotham valley had been occupied by successive races until the time of Cæsar, as we know from sepulchral remains and earthworks, and was pierced by that important British trackway, now known as the Pilgrim's Path, which passed along the lower stopes of the chalk downs. The great earthwork of Oldbury, no doubt one of the *oppida*

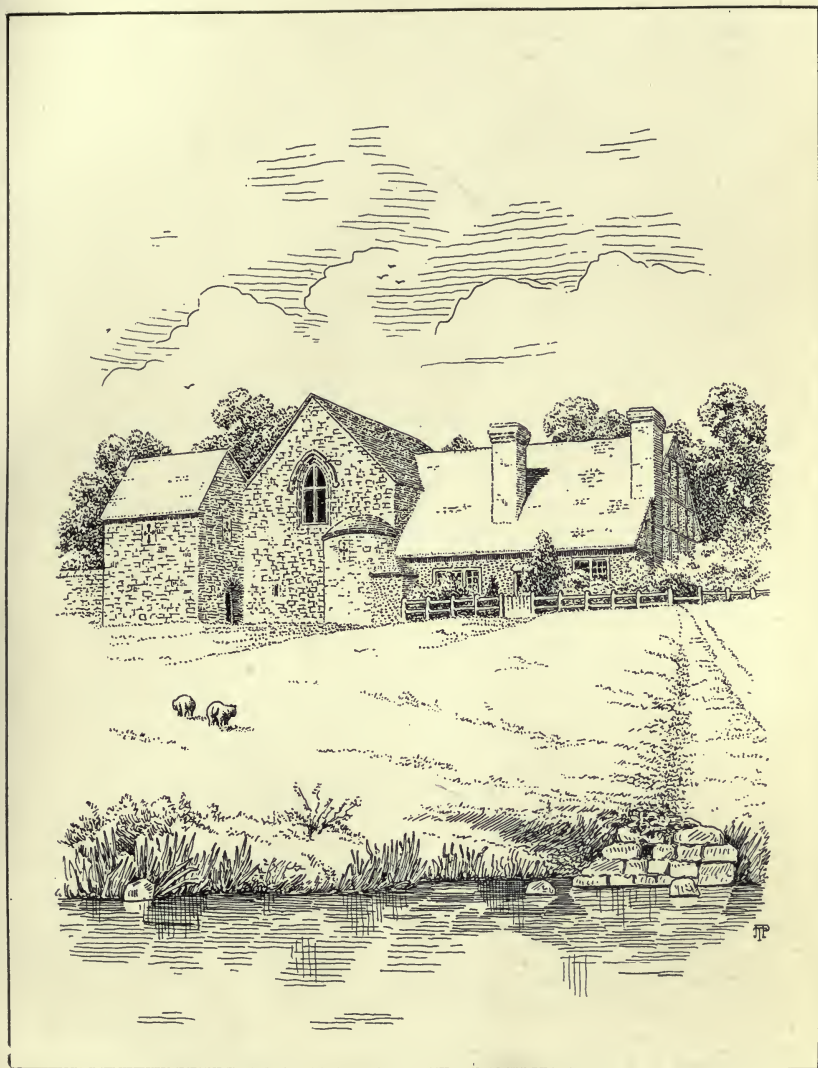
PLAXTOLE; A KENTISH VILLAGE.

sylvis munita, was too strong a place to be left unoccupied when the Romans were marching to the Thames. The Weald end of the Plaxtole valley being almost sealed by the dense forest of Anderida, on which it abutted, made it very sequestered, and may have early tempted some Roman to settle within it. The considerable remains of a villa or other buildings found on the western slope of the hill just below the church, described by Major Luard in vol. 2 of the *Archæologia Cantiana*, were of too fragmentary a character and too superficially examined to enable us to say much more than that they occupied a considerable area and must have been of some importance; while the very beautiful little bronze statuette of Minerva found among the *débris* points to the wealth and culture of the builder and possessor.

This Roman building was probably still in occupation when the first wave of the Jutish invasion swept along the Wrotham valley. Here some Teutonic settler may have established his family, making his Hall among the buildings where he could avail himself of the warm baths of which all the Saxons were so fond, and which in turn gave its name of Hall or Hale to the Hale borough which has lasted almost to our own time; and it is not too much to imagine that it remained the chief house of the neighbourhood until it was deserted later on for another site on the slope of the opposite hill just across the stream.

Before, however, we proceed to describe any of the existing buildings in Plaxtole, it is necessary to explain more in detail the position it bore to the mother parish of Wrotham, as none of the authorities which first called it into being mention at all the boundaries of the district. Until the division, Wrotham consisted of six boroughs which returned borseholders to the Court Leet of the Manor; these were known as Wrotham Town, Stanstead, Nepicar, Wingfield, Roughway, and Hale, and it was the last two, lying at the extreme south and together occupying the breadth of the Plaxtole valley which became known as Plaxtole. The names of all these six boroughs survive except Hale, which has lost its identity. Nepicar is represented by a manor house of that name, Wrotham and Stanstead are villages with their ancient churches, Wingfield is the name of an old flour mill with its wheel still worked by the stream, and Roughway distinguishes some important paper mills at which the paper for the postage stamps was made for many years. A rough hill road also bears this appropriate name, and at the foot of it lies a hamlet known as

1860



Old Sore, Plaxtole.
Drawn by J. Tavenor-Perry.



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Dunks Green, which seems to have taken the place of the old borough of Roughway.

The building which succeeded to the position of chief residence after the decay of the Saxon Hall, with what interval we cannot tell, is now known as Old Sore, of which we give a sketch showing its northern face as it now remains. It speaks well for the peaceable character of the valley that the site selected for this manor house was not in itself a defensible one, as the slope on which it was built made moated defences impossible, and it was therefore only constructed to resist, by its thick walls, any sudden attack from mere marauders. The manor of Old Sore was an appendage to that of Oxenhoath in the next parish of West Peckham and belonged to the Preston branch of the ubiquitous family of Culpeper, by one of whom the existing building was erected. It is described and plans of it are given by Sharon Turner in his *Domestic Architecture*; and there is a paper on the subject by the late Mr. Wadmore in volume 22 of the *Archæologia Cantiana* in which he attributes the building to Walter Culpeper and dates it between 1350 and 1360, while the Rev. Arthur Hussey, who claimed to have been the architectural discoverer of the place, regarded it as one of the most perfect examples of domestic architecture "of the transition period from Early English to Decorated, towards the close of the 13th century, existing in the Kingdom." The building is in two storeys, the upper floor containing a great hall, the north gable of which shows in our sketch, measuring roughly 19 ft. by 28 ft., over a basement covered with a solid and arched rubble vault. The entrance was on the west side through a doorway, now hidden by the modern farm buildings, still retaining some decorative features in a corbel formed of clustered columns, and giving access to a turret staircase which in one half turn and the thickness of the walls found room for steps enough to reach the hall floor. The hall has at each end a two-light window, of which the tracery has gone, but still retaining the hooks for the shutters; and there was a hooded fireplace, now in a damaged condition, on the side wall. The open timber roof with two principals consisting of moulded tie-beams, king-posts and braces, remains fairly perfect.

At the eastern angles of the hall doorways gave access to two other small rooms, that to the north, which shows in our sketch, being the lord's sleeping chamber, lighted only by oylets, rebated for shutters, the hooks for which remain; while

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the corresponding room to the south was the oratory. This chamber, measuring some 10 ft. by 15 ft., was lighted at the end by a window similar to those in the hall, and two smaller ones on either side, and it retains a carved bracket for an image or candlestick, and a hooded and crocketed piscina with a cinquefoil head and a hexagonal bason. The basements of these two angle chambers are merely vaulted cellars; and the whole building is a most complete and interesting survival of the domestic arrangements of a long bygone age.

Hasted says that prior to the building of Plaxtole Church the oratory of Old Sore was used for church services for the neighbourhood, under the charge of the Vicar of Wrotham or his curate; Hussey rejects the story on account of the diminutive size of the building, but Wadmore in his recent paper repeats the statement. The origin of the story may perhaps be explained by what we shall have to say later on.

On higher ground to the south-west of Old Sore is another house associated with the Culpeper family, just now enjoying the peculiar appellation of "Rats' Castle," which was connected with a Preceptory of Knights Hospitallers in the adjoining parish of West Peckham. This Preceptory is said to have been founded and given to the Knights Templars, before their dissolution, by a John Culpeper; but it is more probable that it was founded, as is stated by Kilburne, in 1408 by Sir John Culpeper of Oxenhoath, one of the Justices of Common Pleas, for the Knights Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem. The site of this Preceptory is now covered by a large and picturesque half-timber house, commonly called "the Ducks," standing a little to the south-east of West Peckham Church. Among the endowments of the Preceptory was this outlying portion of the manor of Old Sore, and a house, perhaps incorporated in the present "Castle," may have been built as a residence for a steward or some other conventual official; but the building as we now see it must have been erected subsequently to the Dissolution. Its original ownership was not at first ignored, for when, in 1572, it was sold to one Walter Port, a blacksmith of Wrotham, it was known as "Monks' Place"; but later, when it passed into the hands of John Turk, Esquire, of Staple Inn, its name was changed to "Turks." The letters S. C. stamped in the plaster work of the central dormer may refer to some forgotten owner, or even to one of the Culpeper family, which was not extinct in the neighbourhood in the seventeenth century. The place after being used as cottages,



“Rats’ Castle,” Plaxtole.

Drawn by J. Tavenor-Perry.



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when all the interesting woodwork of the interior was removed, was used in 1819 as a barracks for the workmen engaged in rebuilding "Hamptons," who, from the vermin with which it was overrun, styled it "Rats' Castle."

The "Hamptons" here referred to is a house of some importance standing in a small park in the south-east corner of the parish, occupied by the Dalison family, who have played an important part in the modern history of Plaxtole, and are still the principal persons residing in it. A house had been in existence on the present site for some centuries, and obtained its name from William Hampton, Citizen and Powchemaker, who purchased the reversion of this portion of Oxenhoath in 19 Edward IV (1478-9). In or about 1655 Frances Stanley, daughter and heiress of Thomas Stanley, the then owner of the estate, married Maximilian Dalison and brought the property to his family. But it fell to the distaff through three generations of heiresses until Maximilian Dudley Digges Hammond, the great-grandson of Frances, assumed the surname of Dalison and rebuilt the mansion in 1819. A house in the village of Plaxtole, known as "the Grange," was built by Thomas, the son of Maximilian Dalison, early in the eighteenth century, for his own residence; and it has remained the dower house of the Dalison family ever since.

There is one other house to be mentioned, perhaps contemporary with "Rats' Castle," but without either its historic or its unpleasant associations; a house of considerable size and importance, although we know nothing of its story. This is "Nut-Tree Hall," a long, half-timbered and much gabled house, standing almost in the centre of the old borough of Hale. The building belongs to the close of the sixteenth century and may have been built in two slightly different periods, the portion rather lower in pitch than the rest, showing to the right of our sketch, being the earlier. We have no record either of its founders or its principal occupants, and can only assume, from its appearance, that they were people of comparative wealth and position. Unfortunately during the last century it was used as cottages, and neglect and ill-regulated repair have done it much mischief. It is now owned and occupied by Sir William Allchin, the well-known London physician, who has done what is possible to repair the evil; but a comparison of our sketch, fortunately taken before some of the worst alterations had been made, with the building to-day, will show the extent of our loss.

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The ecclesiastical history of Plaxtole practically commences only with the interesting era of Archbishop Laud, but though so modern it is yet very difficult to follow. We have already dealt with the origin of the name of Plaxtole, and how it gradually superseded the name of Hale-borough, which together with that of Roughway formed the parish; and we should mention that although the name of Hale seems now to be entirely forgotten, Hasted, on his map of the Hundred of Wrotham, prints the name across the upper part of the place as the name by which it was, so recently as his time, known. But apart from the question of the name there is much uncertainty as to when it was first regarded as a separate ecclesiastical district and a church or chapel built for the parishioners. A rector of Wrotham, in a report on the state of his parish in 1788, preserved among the MSS. at Lambeth, incidentally refers to his belief that there was a chapel there, with an ecclesiastical district attached, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth; and this assumption, perhaps supported by evidence within his knowledge, but now lost to us, seems very reasonable when we remember the important houses standing at that time in the neighbourhood, some of which we have just described, as well as a great number of smaller ones of the same period, still standing or but recently destroyed, whose occupants would have made up a considerable congregation. But there are two or three other pieces of more direct evidence, one of which seems to prove conclusively that there was some sort of church before the present building was erected.

The first and most important of these is a licence issued by Archbishop Laud, dated January 3, 1637, (Laud's Register, Lambeth, f. 286b.), in answer to a petition of the inhabitants of the boroughs of Hale and Roughway, granting them permission to use an ancient and decayed chapel within the borough of Hale then known as "Plaxtoole Chapelle." The petition states that there are in the two boroughs some 76 families, many members of which are too old, infirm, or young to attend service at the Parish Church which is three miles away from some of them and five miles from others, and pointing out that there is the above named chapel, which their fathers had used before them, but which had fallen into a state of disrepair, unusable and possibly profaned, but which they have now restored and ask for permission to use again. The licence accordingly grants a "reconciliation" without a reconsecration, and permits morning and evening prayer to

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Nut-Tree Hall, Plaxtole.

Drawn by J. Tavenor-Perry.



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be said and catechizing to be held in the chapel by an orthodox and conformable priest, who is to be supported by the people, on condition that he and his people shall receive the Eucharist of the Lord's Supper as often as bound by the canon at the parish church, that no burials take place except at the parish church, and nothing shall be done to prejudice the rights of the parish church or the Vicar of the parish of Wrotham.

Accordingly, the next year, 1638, Mr. Thomas Stanley, of Hamptons, as related by Hasted, who says nothing of the licence, gave land on trust producing £7 per annum for the support of a curate, conditionally on £8 being raised by the inhabitants for the same purpose.

The result of the restoration of the fabric does not seem to have quite satisfied the requirements of the people, who appear to have required a larger building, as we gather from a defective document published in the *Bibliography of Royal Proclamations*, 1545-1714, edited by Mr. Robert Steele (vol. i, England and Wales, page 432). It is a proclamation by Charles, presumably the First, September 22, the date of the year being missing, as a brief for building a church at Plaxtole. It states that Wrotham Parish being divided into three, a new church is being built for Plaxtole, the chapel of ease being pulled down. A collection is to be made in Kent, Surrey, Sussex, and Middlesex for two years.

In 1852 the church underwent a restoration and enlargement, the addition being made to the easternmost bay, and the east wall and buttresses were rebuilt in the new position as shown in our sketch. The tablet recording the erection of the church was refixed in the gable, and two sepulchral tablets were replaced in the angle formed by the east wall and the south-east buttress. These tablets had been prepared for the positions they occupied, with faces sunk back from the general surface of the walling, and they recorded the deaths of two members of the Ducke family (there is still a house called "Ducks" in the village) the one dated 1605, which has been lately destroyed, and another dated 1617, some fragments of which were preserved for a time in the coal-hole. These in all probability belonged to the walling of the earlier church which had been pulled down, though perhaps not entirely, for the rebuilding contemplated in the proclamation of King Charles. Another point may be mentioned in favour of the theory that the present church, if it does not in part incorporate, stands on the site of the more ancient structure,

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is that it orientates correctly; a detail which would scarcely be considered in Puritan times, especially as the lie of the land would have made the building north and south more convenient.

It would be interesting to know something of the result of the two years' collection for the rebuilding, and of the persons who had the administration of the funds, as well as details of the manner in which the work was designed and executed; but as on these subjects we have no information we must be satisfied with knowing that by 1649 they had resulted in the erection of the present fine and remarkable building. The views we give of the exterior and interior of the church will make any detailed description unnecessary. It consisted on plan, when it was first built, of a nave four bays long, roofed in a single span, with a square east end, and without any constructional chancel. Each of the three eastern bays had on each side a two-light window, and the fourth bay at the west end contained a gallery lighted at each end by a small two-light window set high up in the walls, and below the gallery were the entrances, one on each side, which led from rather deep north and south porches. At the west end was a square battlemented tower, with a lofty arch opening into the church, partly concealed by the gallery and organ. On the west front there are three two-light windows, one opening into the tower and the others into the nave below the gallery, which are semicircular headed with the traceried heads unpierced; and on one of these the label termination is a grotesque head which looks like, and may be meant for, a contemporary Roundhead. This, and some arms in the eastern spandril of the south door head are the only pieces of original carving which have survived the restorations; and these arms, which appear to be three cinquefoils, cannot be identified with any local family.

The great glory of the interior is the fine oak hammer-beam roof, of the Middle Temple type, the wall pieces of which rest on moulded capitals and stone piers built against and into the side walls; and the boldness and scientific character of the design suggests that it owes its inception to some more important person than the village carpenter. It was probably the design of some architect employed by Archbishop Laud while the funds were accumulating in his hands; and it requires no great stretch of fancy to suppose that that architect was Inigo Jones.



Plaxtole Church.

Drawn by J. Tavenor-Perry.



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The tower does not appear to have been furnished with a bell at the time of building, but one was added later, $21\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, with the inscription "John Stephens Churchwarden Will. Furner 1709," but the name of Furner cannot be traced in any parochial records. For this bell has now been substituted another. The original font was taken away in 1852 to give place to one more correctly Gothic, and this in turn has to be ousted for one of the more modern memorial type. The contemporary and picturesque western gallery has also fallen a prey to the reckless restorer.

In the churchyard still remain some curious specimens of monumental art, of which we give two examples, one, dated 1734, which may be intended to be a family portrait; and there are several similar ones remaining. Another one, erected to the memory of William Broad, of Calais Court, Ryarsh, in 1776, is of a more ambitious character, and shows the Flight into Egypt, with the Virgin arrayed in the costume of the eighteenth century; another one of the same character, and perhaps by the same hand, in the churchyard of Capel, by Tonbridge, displays the Parable of the Good Samaritan, with the priest in full canonicals, and the Levite as a lawyer in wig and gown.

There appears to be no record of the appointment of any "orthodox and conformable priest," as contemplated by the Archbishop, to the curacy of Plaxtole. The parish register only commences in 1641, and contains this note, "Anno 1648 May. Plaxtoll made a Parish and a Church built. Mr Will^m Thomas made Rector." As to this entry it may be remarked that Hasted on the authority of Rushworth, says that Plaxtole was erected into an independent parish by ordinance of the Parliament, January 31, 1647. But under that date Rushworth merely speaks of a division of Wrotham Parish without mentioning Plaxtole at all, so that this entry in the Register seems to be the earliest statement we have of this circumstance; while who Mr. William Thomas was, and by whom he was appointed, we cannot say. The first recorded admission to the Rectory, apart from this entry, appears in the Lambeth Register of Admissions for 1654 (part III, page 184) from which we find that James Cranford, having satisfied "the Commission for approbation of Publique Preachers," that is to say, the "Triers" became thereby "intitled to all profits and perquisites and all rights and deeds incident and belonging to the said Rectory." Three years after there was another

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appointment made by "His Highness the Lord Protector under the Great Seal of England" of John Stileman, Clerk, Master of Arts, who was admitted July 8, 1657; while in October following there was yet another appointment. At the Restoration the parish of Plaxtole, having been the result of Parliamentary interference in ecclesiastical affairs, reverted once more to Wrotham; and it was not until the middle of the last century that it was re-established as an independent Rectory.

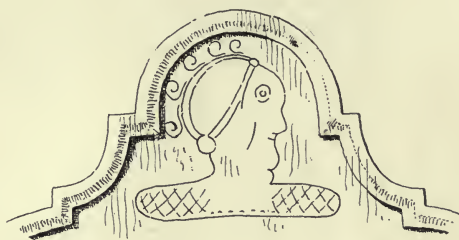
Plaxtole has not escaped some modernization, but the amenities of the place have not been seriously affected. One or two modern houses of an aggressive sort have been built, and some remarkable specimens of topiary art disappeared when the picturesque blacksmith's shop was rebuilt. The greatest damage the place has sustained has been in the wanton and ruthless manner in which the church has been altered under the plea of enlargement and restoration. To the east end have been added transepts and chancel in a discordant style, the uncertain Gothic of which is supposed to exhibit some "early French" feeling, to afford an architectural puzzle to future archæologists, and to the destruction of an ecclesiastical monument of the highest historical value almost unique in the architecture of the county of Kent.

HISTORIC WATER-PAGEANTS AND PROCESSIONS ON THE THAMES

BY FRANCIS EDWIN TYLER

THE contemplated journey by water of His Majesty King George, afterwards abandoned, on the occasion of cutting the first sod of the new dock at North Woolwich, naturally aroused great interest throughout the metropolis; the moment seems opportune, therefore, for a brief account of some of the many picturesque water-processions of days gone by.

The first Lord Mayor-elect to proceed by water to Westminster was Sir John Norman, in 1453. The fact is recorded by the then City Laureate, Middleton, in his *Sun in Aries*, in which he describes the pageant as the first in which the Lord



Tombstone Heads, Plaxtole,
Drawn by J. Tavenor-Perry.



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Mayor "was rowed to Westminster with silver oars, at his own cost and charges." Fabyan, in his *Chronicle*, writes:

This xxxii yere, John Norman foresayd upon the morrowe of Symon's and Jude's daye [October 29, which was the regular Lord Mayor's day until the alteration of the style in 1752] the accustomyd daye, whn ye newe Mayre usyd yerely to ryde with great pompe unto Westminster to take his charge, this Mayre fyrste of all mayres brake that ancient and olde continued custome and was rowed thyther by water, which ye watermen made of him a rondele or songe to his great prayse, which began

"Row thy boat, Norman;
Row to thy lemman."

In 1436 the following interesting item appears in the accounts of the Grocers' Company: "Payd be the handys of John Godwin for Mynstralls and there Hodys, amending of banners, and hire of barges, with Thomas Catworth and Robert Clapton, chosen Shyerries [Sheriffs], going be the water to Westminster." For two centuries later this Company hired barges for use on state occasions, until 1635, when it was considered undignified for them to appear in a hired barge, and the Wardens were authorized to have built, "a fair and large barge." In spite of this, the credit for introducing the water-pageant, as before stated, is given to Sir John Norman.

The coronation of King Henry VII in 1485 was hurried over with less ceremonial than usual, and without any procession through the City; but that of his Queen, Elizabeth of York, in 1487, was attended with all the pomp customary on similar occasions. On Friday next before St. Katherine's day, Elizabeth, accompanied by the Countess of Richmond and many lords and ladies, came from Greenwich by water. The Mayor, Sheriffs, and Aldermen, with several worshipful commoners, chosen out of every craft, in their liveries, were waiting on the river to receive her. The barges were freshly furnished with banners and streamers of silk, bearing the arms and badges of their crafts; one barge especially, called "the Bachelor's Barge," was garnished and apparelled beyond all others. In it was a dragon spouting flames of fire into the Thames, and many other gentlemanly pageants, well and curiously devised to give her Highness sport and pleasure. And so, accompanied by trumpets, clarions, and other minstrels, she came and landed at the Tower, and was there welcomed by the King.

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In preparation for the coronation of Queen Anne Boleyn, on Whit Sunday 1533, the King sent letters to the Mayor and Commonalty signifying his wishes that they should fetch her from Greenwich to the Tower, and see the City ordered and garnished with pageants in the accustomed places, to honour her passage through it. In consequence, a Common Council was called, and commandment given to the Haberdashers, of which craft the Mayor (Sir Stephen Peacock) then was, that they should provide a large barge for the Bachelors, with a wafter and foist, garnished with banners and streamers, as they were accustomed to do "when the mayor is presented at Westminster on the morrow after Simon and Jude." All the other Crafts were likewise commanded to prepare barges, and to garnish them, both with all the seemly banners they could procure, and with targets on the sides, and in every barge to have minstrelsy.

On May 29, the day appointed for the water triumph, the Mayor and his brethren, all in scarlet, such as were knights having collars of SS, and the remainder gold chains, and the Council of the City with them, assembled at St. Mary-at-Hill, and at one o'clock took barge. The barges of the Companies amounted in number to fifty; they were enjoined under a great penalty not to row nearer one to another than at twice a barge's length, and to enforce this order, there were three light wherries, each with two officers. They then set forth in the following order: First, at a good distance before the Mayor's barge, was a foist or wafter full of ordnance, having in the midst a great dragon continuously moving and casting wild-fire, and round about it terrible monsters and wild men casting fire, and making hideous noises. On the right hand of the Mayor's barge was that of the Bachelors, in which were trumpets and several other melodious instruments; its decks, sailyards, and top-castles were hung with cloth of gold and silk; at the fore-ship and the stern were two great banners richly embroidered with the arms of the King and the Queen, and on the top-castle also was a streamer with the said arms.

The sides of the barge were set full of flags and banners of the devices of the companies of the Haberdashers and Merchant-Adventurers, and the cords were hung with innumerable pencels, having little bells at the ends, which made a goodly noise and a goodly sight, waving in the wind. On the outside of the barge were three dozen scutcheons in metal of the King's and Queen's arms, which were mounted upon squares of

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buckram, divided so that the right side had the King's colours and the left the Queen's. On the left hand of the Mayor was another foist, in which was a mount, whereon stood a white falcon, crowned, upon a root of gold, environed with white and red roses, which was the Queen's device. About the mount sat virgins, singing and playing sweetly. Next after the Mayor followed his Fellowship, the Haberdashers; next after them the Mercers, then the Grocers, and so every Company in its order; and after all the Mayor's and Sheriffs' officers.

In this order, "a goodly sight" for splendour, and each barge provided with its own minstrelsy, they rowed to the point beyond Greenwich, and there turned back in the opposite order (that is to wit, the Mayor's and Sheriffs' officers first, and the meanest craft next, and so ascending to the uttermost crafts in order, and the Mayor last), and so they rowed down to Greenwich town, and there cast anchor, making great melody.

At three of the clock the Queen appeared, in rich cloth of gold, and, accompanied by several ladies and gentlemen, entered her barge. Immediately the citizens set forwards, their minstrels continually playing, and the Bachelors' Barge going on the Queen's right hand, which she took great pleasure to behold. About the Queen went also, each in their private barges, many noblemen, particularly the Duke of Suffolk, the Marquis of Dorset, the Earl of Wiltshire, her father, the Earls of Arundel, Derby, Rutland, Worcester, Huntingdon, Sussex, and Oxford, and several Bishops.

The ships in the river were commanded to lie on the shore to make room for the barges; their guns saluted the Queen as she passed, and before she landed at the Tower, there was as marvellous a peal fired therefrom as ever was heard. At her landing, the Lord Chamberlain, with the officers of arms, received her, with a loving countenance. She then turned back, and with many goodly words thanked the Mayor and the citizens, and so entered the Tower.

On Thursday, January 12, 1558, Queen Elizabeth removed by water from her palace at Westminster to the Tower, attended by the City barges all gorgeously be-flagged, the whole forming an extremely picturesque water-pageant.

A very interesting account of one of these early water-pageants is contained in a pamphlet entitled *London's Love to the Royal Prince Henrie, meeting him on the River of Thames at his returne from Richmonde, with a worthy Fleete of her*

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citizens, on Thursday, the last of May, 1610, with a briefe reporte of the water fights and Fire workes. London, Printed by Edw: Alde, for Nathaniel Fosbrooke, and are to be sold at the west-end of St. Paul's, neere to the Bishop of London's gate, 1610. This most quaint and rare pamphlet is dedicated "To the Right Honourable Sir Thomas Cambell, Lord Mayor of this famous cittie of London, and to all the Aldermen, his worthie brethren," and reads as follows:

It hath ever been the nature of this honourable and famous city (matchless for the love and loyalty in all ages, past and present) to come behind none other of the world whatsoever, in duty to her sovereign, and care, not only of common good, but of virtuous and never-dying credit. And such hath always been the indulgent endeavours of her worthy magistrates, from time to time, that they would never let slip any good occasion whereby so maine and especial respect might be duly and successfully preserved. . . . Where of no better exemplary rule can be made, than the late apparent testimony of London's Love to Royal Prince Henrie, appointed by our dread Sovereign his Father, to be created Prince of Wales, and Earl of Chester. . . .

But now our Royal Henrie coming to be the twelfth Prince in this great dignity, and London's cheif magistrate the Lord Mayor, with his worthy Brethren the Aldermen, having very short and sudden intelligence thereof, after some consultation, understanding that the Prince was to come from Richmond by water; they determined to meet him in such good manner as the brevity of time would permit.

Wherefore, upon Thursday being the last day of May, about eight o'clock in the morning, all the Worshipful Companies of the City, were ready in their barges upon the water, with their streamers and ensigns gloriously displayed, Drums, Trumpets, Fifes, and other music attending on them, to await the Lord Mayor and Aldermen coming. No sooner had his honour and the rest taken barge, but on they rowed with such a cheerful noise of harmony and so goodly a show in order and equipage, as made the beholders and hearers not meanly delighted; beside a peal of Ordnance, that welcomed them as they entered on the water. To beautify so sumptuous a show, and to grace the day with more matter of triumph, it seemed that Neptune smiled thereon auspiciously and would not suffer so famous a city's affection to go unfurnished of some favour from him; especially, because it is the metropolis and chief honour of the Island, whereunto himself bare such endeared affection. . . .

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Let it suffice then, that thus was this goodly fleet of citizens accompanied, and ushered the way so far as Chelsea, where hovering on the water until the Prince came : all the pleasures that the times could afford were plentifully intercoured, and no breaches of the peace occurred in the whole navy.

Upon the Prince's near approach, way for his boat and aptest entertainment was made.

Then follows an account of a speech delivered by Corinea, a very fair and beautiful nymph, representing the genius of the old Corineus Queen, and the province of Cornwall, suited in her water-habit, rich and costly, with a coronet of pearls and cockle shells on her head. Seated on the back of a whale she greeted the Prince with a flattering oration. After this ceremony was concluded a splendid water pageant took place, "the very Thames," we read, "appeared proud of its gallant burden."

The pageants on the three following days were truly magnificent; the great attraction being a realistic water-fight between two merchant vessels, and a Turkish pirate ship. The former were in great danger of being defeated, but the timely arrival of two men-of-war turned the tide of battle in their favour.

The intense realism displayed by the combatants aroused the multitudes that lined the river banks, and tremendous enthusiasm was displayed as the fight waged on.

And now the fight grew on all sides to be very fierce indeed, divers men and ships, on either side appearing to be in flames, and hurled over into the sea. . . . In conclusion the merchants and men-of-war, after a long and well-fought skirmish, proved too strong for the Pirate, they spoiled him, and blew up the Castle, ending the whole battery with a very rare and admirable fireworks, as also a worthy peal of chambers.

Another very rare pamphlet which is extremely interesting has this title: *Descensus Astrex, the device of a Pageant borne before the M. William Web Lord Maior of the Citie of London on the day he tooke his oath, being the 29th October, 1591. Whereunto is annexed a speech delivered by one clad like a sea-nymph, who presented a pinnesse on the water bravely rigd and mand, to the Lord Mayor, at the time he took Barge to go to Westminster.*

On August 23, 1662, the Corporation of the City of London

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royally entertained King Charles II on his return from Hampton Court to the Palace at Whitehall. The barges belonging to the twelve great Livery Companies all gathered at Chelsea, journeying thither in stately procession, the Mercers' barge leading the way, each one attended by a pageant, which vied with one another in magnificence and splendour. The first entertainment was a sea-chariot drawn by sea-horses. In the front was seated Isis, her head beautifully adorned with a crown composed of all manner of garden flowers. In her left hand she held a watering pot, to denote her the Lady of the Western Meadows, and wife of Tham. At her feet were seated several inferior water-nymphs belonging to small rivulets, who are tributaries to her, their habits answerable to hers. At a given moment Isis delivered an oration welcoming their Majesties on the waters of the Thames.

The second pageant took the form of an island floating, and was presented between "Fox Hall" and Lambeth. Upon the island, seated in state, was Tham represented as an old man, with long hair and beard. He also addressed their Majesties in a graceful speech.

At its conclusion, a large number of seamen delivered themselves of this refrain:

Live, lads live, good days are coming on,
This seconds that o' the Coronation.
See, see how thick the boats and barges come,
The river sweats to bring its burden home.
Caesar and his fortune's there,
Heavens delight, Our Kingdom's prayer.

Chorus.

Welcome you stars that attend,
From whose light you borrow yours;
May they still your wants befriend,
So you will remember Ours.

The song ended, their Majesties wended their way to Whitehall, well pleased with this magnificent example of the loyalty displayed by the citizens of London.

The custom of the Lord Mayor's presentation at Westminster dates from 1214, when King John granted a charter to the City, stipulating that the Mayor should be presented to the King for his approval. "It was granted by the Kynge, for the cytezens' more ease, that where before tyme they used yerely

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to present theyr mayer to the Kynge's presence in any such place as he then were in England, that now from this tyme forthward they shuld for the lacke of the Kynge's presence being at Westmynster present their mayer, so chosen, upon the Baronys of his Exchekyr, and there to be sworne and admytted, as he was before-tymes before the Kynge."

Thus these journeys, when made by water in the Lord Mayor's state barge, were made the occasions of a triumphal procession. All the large Livery Companies took part, and the annual Show was eagerly looked forward to by the citizens, who made the day one of great rejoicing.

The Lord Mayor's pageant in 1615 was a very gorgeous affair. It was entitled, "*Metropolis Coronata*, the Triumphes of ancient Drapery, or rich clothing for England, in a second yeere's performance." Upon this occasion two pageants were exhibited upon the Thames; the first representing Jason and his companions accompanied by Medea, in "a goodly Argoe rowed by divers comely enuches," and "shaped as neere as art could yeeld it to that of such auncient and honorable fame as convaied Jason and his valiant Argonauts of Greece, to fetch away the Golden Fleece from Colchos." The second pageant displayed Neptune and Thamesis in their sea-chariot, "shaped like a whale, or the huge leviathan of the sea"; and in which also appeared Henry Fitz-Alwin, the first mayor, attended by eight "royal vertues," each one bearing the arms of some celebrated member of the Drapers' Company. "No sooner is my Lord and his brethren seated in their barge," than he is addressed by Fitz-Alwin in a long jingling speech. After his return from Westminster the Lord Mayor is edified by the first show. "A faire and beautifull shippe, stiled by the Lord Maior's name, and called Joell, filled with sailors, and attended by Neptune and the Thames, and followed by a goodly ramme, or golden Fleece, the honoured crest to Drapers and Staplers, having on each side a housewifely virgin sitting, seriously employed in carding and spinning wool for cloth, the very best commoditie that ever this Kingdom yielded." The year 1620 witnessed two splendid water displays; Ocean, in her chariot, drawn by sea-horses, addressed the Mayor, and was attended by a ship behind which sat Æolus, while at each corner of the vessel, upon four islands, sat the four quarters of the world.

During the mayoralty of Sir John Frederick, of the Grocers' Company, the pageant took place on the Thames opposite

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the Temple, where a vessel was exhibited, rigged and manned, the boatswain addressing the mayor. Near its head was placed a "sea-chariot, drawn by two dolphins, upon whose backs were seated two nymphs, representing Sirens, playing upon harps. Behind them two tritons, upon sea-lions sat, playing on retorted pipes and hornes antique, agreeable to the music of Neptune."

The last Lord Mayor to journey by water to Westminster was Thomas Finnis, in 1856, who embarked at London Bridge for Westminster and returned by water to Blackfriars.

Sufficient material is available to fill volumes with records of the many water-pageants and processions that have taken place on the historic waters of the Thames. The writer trusts that in recalling a few of these happenings of a past age it will stimulate interest in some future revival of an ancient custom, when another page may be added to London's ever-increasing roll of historic events.

NOTES ON THE EARLY CHURCHES OF SOUTH ESSEX.

BY C. W. FORBES, Member of the Essex Archæological Society.

[Continued from p. 72.]

GREAT BURSTEAD.

THE village of Great Burstead (spelt in ancient documents as Burghstead, or Burgstede) is situated some seven miles to the south-east of Brentwood, and about a mile and a half south of Billericay; the latter, although a market town, was a chapelry in the parish of Burstead until 1844, when it was formed into a separate parish.

The church is built of rubble, faced in parts with stone, and is of Norman foundation, as shown by one small niche-window in the north wall, near the porch. This window, and some portions of the north and east walls, appear to be the only remains of the original Norman building.

The present structure consists of a chancel, a nave of three bays, a wide south aisle, north and south porches, and an embattled tower with a tall spire. In the tower are five bells;



Great Burstead Church.



Old Pews, Great Burstead.

Photographs by C. W. Forbes.



THE EARLY CHURCHES OF SOUTH ESSEX.

one is of 15th century date, by John Walgrave, with the inscription, *Vox Augustini sonet in Aure Dei*; two of the others are dated 1724 and 1731 respectively.

Extensive alterations appear to have taken place in the latter part of the 14th century, when it is assumed that the south aisle was added, and again in the early part of the 15th century, when the present tower was erected.

The aisle, which is almost as wide as the nave, extends the whole length of the building, and is divided from the chancel and nave by five bays, two in the chancel and three in the nave; the pillar at the eastern end is a clustered column of four half-rounds, while those between the nave and aisle are octagonal. Between the chancel and the nave, on the south side, is an arched opening, presumed to be where the lower portion of the stairs which led to the roodloft once existed, the top portion having been bricked up.

There are three doorways, north, south, and west; also two priest's doors, one on each side, which are now closed.

The north doorway is a very good example of a Perpendicular square-headed door, with carvings and figures in the spandrels, also on each side lower down is the sculptured head of a mitred abbat. To the west of this doorway is to be seen the remains of a fine square-headed holy-water stoup. All the other doorways are pointed.

The windows on the north side of the nave, beginning from the eastern end, are as follows: one three-light, with trefoil heads; one three-light, with fine Decorated tracery, containing portions of ancient glass with emblematic figures of the sun and moon; one small Norman niche-window; and, to the west of the porch, a plain three-light square-headed window. In the aisle, on the south side, there are two double-light windows and two of three lights, of the 14th century. At the eastern end of the aisle is a three-light window with cinquefoil heads. The window at the western end, consisting of three lights, appears to be a modern one in the Perpendicular style.

The east window of the chancel is bricked up, and affixed to the exterior is a plain oblong monumental stone, the date and inscription of which are illegible. On the north side of the chancel is a square-headed Perpendicular window of three lights.

The timber porches attached to the north and south doorways of the nave belong to the 15th century, the one on the south side is somewhat dilapidated.

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Owing to the fact that the ground on the north side of the nave is considerably above the level of the interior of the church, there are five steps leading from the north door into the nave; the windows in the north wall on each side of the porch have been shortened to the extent of about two feet, apparently for the same reason.

There is no chancel arch; between the tower and nave the arch is pointed. The floor of the tower is paved with red bricks, and portions of the aisle are covered with ancient Roman tiles.

In the chancel, in front of the blocked up east window, is a carved altar-piece from one of the destroyed City churches, probably St. Christopher-le-Stocks, which stood in Lothbury, and was taken down in 1781 to make room for the extension of the Bank of England.

Near the north doorway in the nave is an old 15th-century chest.

The font has a plain pedestal, with an octagonal basin; it is attributed to the Perpendicular period.

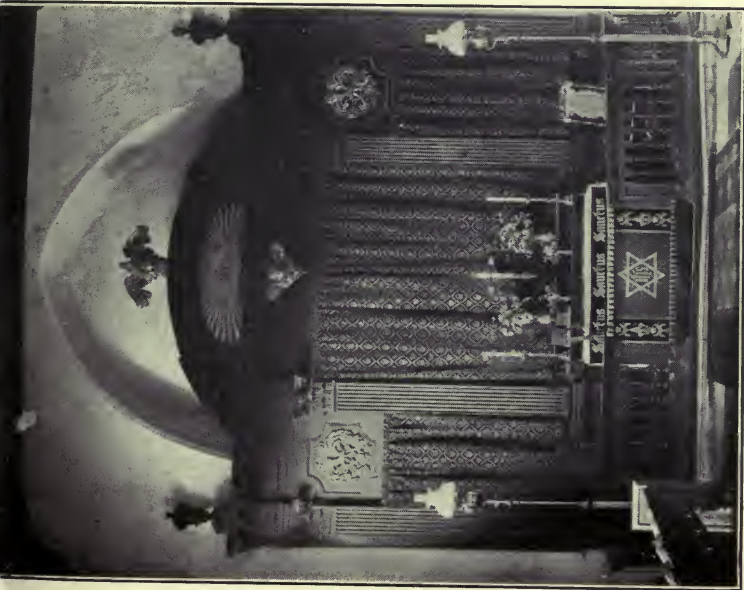
In the nave, on the south side, are a number of old benches with carved Perpendicular tracery at the ends.

There are no brasses, and no monuments of any importance.

The Register dates from the year 1558.

The Cistercian monks of the Abbey of Stratford Langthorne, or West Ham, as it is commonly called, founded in 1134 by William Montfichet, at one time possessed a cell or grange at Great Burstead. The records of this abbey are very meagre, but it appears that owing to the serious overflowing of the River Lea and the consequent flooding of the marshes around their buildings they were at one time obliged to leave Stratford and migrated to Burstead. So far as is known, there are no documents extant giving any particulars of this removal, but it is believed to have been about the beginning of the reign of Richard II, 1377; from this it is assumed that the monks enlarged the church by adding the south aisle, and later built the porches and tower. Further evidence of this is perhaps shown by the heads of the abbats carved on each side of the north doorway. The monks probably reserved the nave and chancel for themselves and erected the south aisle for use as the parish church. At the Dissolution of the Monasteries it was found that nearly the whole of the land in the parish belonged to Stratford Abbey.

The church is dedicated to St. Mary Magdalen.



Reredos.

Great Burstead.

Photographs by C. W. Forbes.



North Door.



THE EARLY CHURCHES OF SOUTH ESSEX.

There are several small ancient charities belonging to this parish in the hands of the Charity Commissioners, one of which is the rental of a meadow which now produces about £8 a year; this sum is distributed annually to the poor of the parish by the churchwardens.

Near Billericay are the remains of a Roman encampment called Blunt's Walls, where a number of coins and various antiquities have been unearthed; the Roman tiles in the floor of the church doubtless came from this spot.

LITTLE BURSTEAD.

Little Burstead is situated about a mile and a half to the south-west of Great Burstead.

The church, built originally of pudding stone, was erected in the Early English style, about the end of the 13th century; considerable alterations were made in the latter part of the 15th century. It consists of a chancel, nave with vestry on the north side, a south porch, and a low west turret, with a slated spire, containing two bells.

In the north wall of the nave are two Early English single-light lancet windows, containing some fragments of ancient Flemish glass; the double-light west window belongs to the Decorated period and was inserted in the early part of the 14th century; that on the south side, between the porch and the chancel, is a triple-light window of late Perpendicular date.

There are two doorways, north and south; that on the north is bricked up.

The south porch appears to have been built originally of the same material as the walls of the church; it has, however, to a great extent been rebuilt with red bricks.

The font opposite the south door is an octagonal basin and pedestal with little ornamentation; it is somewhat taller than the usual run of fonts in this county.

There is now no arch between the chancel and nave, the chancel being some six feet on each side narrower than the nave; on the south side can be seen some remains of the old rood stairs.

The east window is of three lights, of 15th century date; on the south side of the chancel there are two double-lights of the same period; the sill of the one on the east side has been carried down very low, so as to form a sedilia. Near this is a very fine Early English piscina, with a trefoil arch and

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two short ornamental columns. Between the two windows is a priest's doorway, of Perpendicular date, which has been rebuilt on the exterior side with modern masonry; opposite, on the north side, is an aumbry nearly two feet deep, and near this is an old doorway, considerably modernized, which leads into a vestry.

At the west end of the nave is a small wooden gallery, and on each side of this are massive timber beams to support the turret and spire.

The internal masonry of the church is original work, but portions of the exterior walls, together with the framework of the windows in the nave and chancel, and portions of the porch, have been rebuilt with red bricks of the late Tudor period. The roof of the nave was heightened about the same time, as can be seen from the brick work at the gable of the western end of the nave.

There are some ledger-stone memorials to members of the Walton family, including one to Sir George Walton, Admiral of the Blue, who died 1739.

There are several old charities. In 1790 John Cooper left the rent of 6 cottages and 33 acres of land for the benefit of poor persons living in and belonging to the parish; this is now of the annual value of about £48, and is distributed each year at Easter.

Besides this there are two other smaller charities valued at £1 3s. *od.* yearly, by which bread is bought and given to the poor.

[To be continued.]

THE HAYMARKET, LONDON, HISTORICAL AND ANECDOTAL.

BY J. HOLDEN MACMICHAEL, author of *The Story of Charing Cross*.

[Continued from p. 132.]

CHAPTER VII.

THE Haymarket in the late fifties saw a good deal more of what are euphemistically known as "wild oats" than of hay, when the hay-wagons which occupied the kennel were supplanted by a cab-stand, for the convenience of those



Little Burstead Church.
Photographs by C. W. Forbes.



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who were farming the cereal that produces such an unsatisfactory crop.

Much information about the various supper-rooms, public-houses, casinos, and dancing-rooms, the manners and customs of the frequenters of those places, and the nightly scenes of drunkenness and disorder, will be found in *The Night-Side of London*, by J. Ewing Ritchie, 1857, pp. 50-57, and *Ragged London in 1861*, by John Hollingshead.

John Elwes, the Miser, proverbial in the annals of avarice, inherited from his father some property in houses in London, particularly about the Haymarket, but the precise locality has not, I think, been identified. He was also the founder of the greater part of Marylebone, and Portman Place, Portman Square, and many of the adjacent streets arose out of his enterprise.¹ In his earlier days Elwes's prodigality was as proverbial as his penury, and his profuseness went hand in hand with his meanness. He could be prodigal of thousands, and yet almost deny himself the necessities of life. He would not have his shoes blacked lest the process of polishing should hasten their becoming worn out! At the marriage of his eldest son he would give him absolutely nothing but his "consent" to the union.

The origin of the peculiar designation of the "Dirty Shirt Coffee House" is not apparent, but it was at No. 28 Haymarket (the site being now occupied by the premises of the Civil Service Co-operative Society). In the *Recollections of John Adolphus* it is thus alluded to:

I heard of the death of Crockford. I knew him fifty years ago, when, with his mother, he kept a small fishmonger's shop in the Strand, and was a poor beggarly player at the silver hazard tables,² and at No. 28, Haymarket, then called the "Dirty Shirt Coffee House." About 1802 he got into a better line of play at Newmarket, then opened a gaming-house in St. James's-street, and was believed to have realized an immense fortune. It is said that his death was accelerated by some events (I know not what) at the last Derby.³

"The Diamond" was another beautiful sample of these gambling times.

¹ See Caulfield's *Book of Wonderful Characters*.

² Such places were called "Silver Hells." One in Covent Garden is described in Adolphus's *Recollections*, p. 49.

³ *The Recollections of John Adolphus*, by Emily Henderson, 1871, p. 264.

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Of all the men I ever saw (says Adolphus) "the Diamond" was the most profligate, his vicious nature and bad habits seeming to have extinguished every spark of truth, justice and good feeling. Devoted to play, he had made considerable proficiency in all the games where skill, or skill mixed with chance, ensure success, such as billiards, backgammon, and all conventional games at cards; but natural as it may seem for a gamester to desire to win, the pleasure he had in gaining money from those who were less skilful than himself seemed subordinate to the intense desire of losing it to those who were more so, and this strange feeling materially influenced some of the events of his life. James Hardwick (the Diamond) was "behind backs" whatever that may mean, and offered a bet of half a crown, but as no one trusted him, he was obliged to show them that he had money, and exhibited it between his finger and thumb. He won, and continued successful in about six bets. At last he lost, and when called upon to pay, handed over the symbol so ostentatiously displayed, which proved to be a round piece of metal cut from the bottom of a pewter pot at the last ale-house he had visited. He did not mind clamour, and the laugh was rather with him than against him. He disappeared, and in about two hours, he returned declaring that he had had a capital goose, and a bowl of punch for his supper, and laughed at the flats he had cheated at Hazard.

The Haymarket is closely identified with the history of a custom which played an important part in the social life of the last two centuries. I allude to the fashion or habit of snuffing. The original vogue was to scrape the dry root of the tobacco-plant upon a rasp, whence the kind of snuff known as *rappee* from the French *tabac râpé*.¹ In France a common sign for the snuff-dealer was "*La Carotte d'or*," and it was this fashion that was responsible for the sign at No. 34

¹ The late Mr. H. Syer Cuming, with his habitual kindness to enquirers, once showed me two rappoir-backs in his possession, the rasps being absent. One of these was of ivory $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. long, and bore the carved figure of a lady. It was dated 1700. The other, considerably longer, was of the 17th century, and made of ebony. This was found in the Thames in 1847. Examples of these rasps are very scarce in the cabinet of the antiquary. Either of the above-mentioned two might have been carried with ease, as it was, I believe, the custom to carry them in the capacious pocket of the period. There is an engraving of a snuff-box with rasped sides in volume xiii of *Archæologia*. The late Mr. F. G. Hilton Price, F.S.A., had a considerable number of these rasps or graters, many of which were beautifully carved.

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Haymarket, of "The Crown and Rasp," hung out by Messrs. Fribourg and Treyer, and for the same sign at No. 23, Messrs. Fribourg and Pontets, now no more. The interior of the latter shop was a veritable museum of antiquities relating to the snuff and tobacco trade, and among them what was presumably a trade rasp of iron, 13 in. long by 5 in. at the base and 4 in. at the top, which is given the date of 1720. The old bench which accommodated noble and distinguished customers bore the legend, carved :

CROWN—20—AND RASP

There was also an original sign of the Highlander, and a very interesting old wood carving which adorned the shop of some Dutch tobacco dealer in the early history of the trade. This carving seemed to have been an attempt to commemorate the introduction of tobacco by Sir Walter Raleigh. Beneath the carving is the inscription

Varinas—an alle—sorten—van—tabak 1720

which appears to mean "Varinas and all sorts of tobacco, 1720." This was brought from Holland by Mr. Pontet about a hundred years ago. Varinas, a town of Columbia in the republic of Venezuela, was the principal mart for the excellent tobacco grown in the province of the same name.

At the time of Louis XIV and Queen Anne, Spanish snuff was taken universally and exclusively both in France and England. We read of nothing but "Plain Spanish" in *The Spectator*, etc. The very fine red or yellow snuff, mixed with an oily earth, known as Spanish Snuff, was up towards the end of the 18th century the only kind made in Spain; but the King (who had the sole monopoly of tobacco) finding that he was losing by the prodigious quantities of rappee smuggled from France and Portugal, began to manufacture rappee himself, which (though not very good) was generally purchased for its cheapness.¹ In 1735 the Spanish colonies, Havanna and St. Domingue, and Portuguese Brazil, supplied snuff in large quantities. P. Desca at the sign of "The Spaniard" in New Street, Covent Garden, in that year sold French Rappee, Rappee, Rappee Clarac (? Clarao), Rappee Brazil, St. Domingue Rappee, Havannah Rappee, and fine Rappee Rolls.

¹ *Tabacana*, in Barré Charles Roberts's *Letters and Miscellaneous Papers*, 1814, p. 36.

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George IV and Queen Charlotte were both customers at the Crown and Rasp. It is dreadful to think that the latter was known as "snuffy Charlotte." On one occasion, says Sir Walter Besant, she gave a dance to her young grand-daughter Princess Charlotte and her companions, and the Princess was asked to call for a dance. "Tell the band," she said, "to play up 'What a beau my granny was!'" Now the words of that delectable ditty are, or were:

What a beau my granny was!
What a beau was she!
She took snuff and that's enough!
And that's enough for me!¹

At Fribourg's the famous "Blue Friars" snuff is still popular "sneeshin." It was so named after a "brotherhood" so styled, who had their curious monastic seal, and other paraphernalia and rules to govern their conduct at meetings. Charles Matthews, the elder, was a brother, and Mr. W. H. K. Wright wrote an interesting book on the fraternity in 1889.

In the obituary of *The Gentleman's Magazine* for January 14, 1783, we are told that at Fribourg's snuff-shop in the Haymarket died Mr. Cervetto, father of the celebrated violoncello performer of that name. This extraordinary character in the musical world was 102 years old in November, 1782. He came to England in the winter of the hard frost, and was then an old man. He was soon after engaged to play the bass at Drury Lane Theatre. One evening when Garrick was performing the character of Sir John Brute, during the drunkard's muttering and dozing till he fell asleep in the chair (the audience being profoundly silent and attentive to the performer), Cervetto (with orchestra) uttered a very loud and immoderately-lengthened yawn! The moment Garrick was off the stage he sent for the musician, and with considerable warmth reprimanded him for so ill-timed a symptom of somnolency, when the modern Naso, with great address, reconciled Garrick to him in a trice by saying, with a shrug: "I beg ten thousand pardons, but I always do so ven I am *ver moch please!*"

¹ "The Voice of the Flying Day," in *The Queen*, Oct. 20, 1894.

[To be continued.]

SMUGGLING IN THE HOME COUNTIES.

BY C. EDGAR THOMAS.

[Continued from p. 154.]

DOVER acquired notoriety for the smuggling into England of lace, silks, gloves, etc. These were mostly French manufactures, and Dover, from its near situation to the Continent, provided a ready means of entry. In the summer of 1826, during the running of a cargo there, a coastguard named Morgan was shot dead, but the murderer was never brought to justice. On another occasion the Custom house authorities at this port were duped in an exceedingly clever manner. A large consignment of silk and lace goods—naturally smuggled—left Dover one night, presumably *en route* to the metropolis. One of the gang, to ensure the safety of this run, informed the authorities of its departure. Meanwhile his companions had taken advantage of a good hour's start, and when some distance from Dover came to a standstill in a side lane, where they extinguished all lights and remained perfectly quiet. The Customs officers soon cantered by in great haste, and when they were gone, the smugglers disbanded in all directions, carrying their booty safely away.

The storming of Dover gaol is sufficiently interesting to claim notice here. In the early twenties of the last century, a suspected smuggling craft had been captured, and the captain and crew imprisoned in the old gaol. The friends and relatives of the seamen, who chiefly hailed from Folkestone, determined to effect a rescue, and with that purpose in view, set out to walk to Dover. By the time the intervening ten miles had been traversed, their ranks had increased to a large and formidable mob. The seafaring folk of Dover turned out and joined the rabble, and, thus reinforced, they made an immediate rush for the gaol. The doors, windows, and walls were battered in, and some of the mob gaining the roof, stones and other missiles were showered down on to the Mayor and troops. The figure cut by the affrighted Mayor must have been a curious blending of humour and pathos, as he stood trembling, making frantic but ineffectual gasps to read the Riot Act, which was soon snatched from him by a shrieking woman. Then, losing what little dignity he possessed, he

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turned tail and fled, amidst the hoots and jeers of his riotous townsmen. The crowd succeeded in releasing the prisoners, and their irons being knocked off at an adjacent smithy, they were triumphantly driven back to their homes, where they remained secure in hiding until the affair should have blown over.

At the Chequers Inn at Smarden, a mounted band of smugglers once stopped to refresh their horses and the innman, when they were surprised by an excise officer, who demanded their surrender in the King's name. The party were soon on their steeds again, and their leader, levelling a pistol at the head of the exciseman, enabled them to escape. The officer then discreetly retired, and the smuggler captain galloped off to join his band. In this same town lived an old lady, who, through her agility in evading the law in regard to spirits, became known as "The Smuggler."

Smuggling existed at Smarden as late as 1854, in which year "Jemmy Brusher" learned by bitter experience the truth of the old adage, "Honesty is the best policy." Jemmy was evidently a great local character, for history is careful to record that he "belonged to the old yeoman class and commonly wore a white smock or round frock. He was an inveterate smoker, and was never seen without a pipe, which when not in his mouth, he wore in the band of his hat." While in the market-place one day, two men asked him if he could do anything with a few tons of tobacco, at the same time imposing silence, as the goods were contraband. The tobacco was said to be on board a schooner lying off the Romney coast, and some of the weed being produced as a sample, Jemmy tried it, and pronounced it excellent. It was then explained that money was needed to get the shipment ashore, and eventually they decided that Brusher should pay down £40 as an instalment; they in their turn undertaking to deliver the cargo at Monk Farm, his residence—between 11 and 1 o'clock on a certain night. Brusher had the balance of the money all ready on the specified evening; and had also invited four intimate friends to have a quiet game of cards, and incidentally to assist with the cargo. This amounted to ten tons, and was to arrive in two four-horse waggons. Their anxiety was soon relieved by the unmistakable sound of a waggon, but to their dismay the sound, instead of coming nearer, died completely away. They waited half through the night, but no waggon came, when they then reflected that it

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might be a hoax on the part of the smugglers, who intended to come and plunder them. The remainder of the money, £150, was safely hidden away, doors and windows were bolted against the expected attack, and the company remained in a state of nervous apprehension until the morning. Nothing more was ever heard of the two smugglers or the tobacco, though it had been evidently landed and conveyed elsewhere.

One of the greatest smuggling strongholds in Sussex was Alfriston. Cuckhold Haven, adjacent, and its retired, unpopulated coast, afforded the smugglers unique advantages. By day the spot presented a calm, peaceful aspect, with the farm labourers busily engaged in their several agricultural pursuits, or the shepherds tending their flocks; but as soon as the gloaming set in, they with one accord left their work, and, banding together, became smugglers. The Alfriston Gang and its leading light, Stanton Collins, achieved considerable infamy. Their leader showed great personal courage in the execution of many difficult and dangerous projects, but eventually received seven years for sheep-stealing. It is interesting to note that the last of the Alfriston Gang, one Robert Hall, died in the Eastbourne workhouse a few years since, at the advanced age of ninety-four.

The Sussex smugglers are admitted to have been a hardy race of fellows, who proceeded about their business in a systematic, well-conceived manner, and with them smuggling attained to the dignity of a fine art. On all their routes were certain farmhouses, cottages, and other buildings, with vast cellars and secret chambers, which afforded temporary shelter for the kegs and bales previous to their conveyance to London and other towns. Even the churches and chapels were utilized as storehouses, and it was no uncommon sight to see a keg of hollands on the doorstep of a minister's house. Of course the clergy could not openly countenance the trade of smuggling, yet when everyone around the coast was more or less interested in the business, they were no more immune than their neighbours. Besides, who ever heard of a good jug of spirits coming amiss to anyone, layman or parson! One clergyman is alleged to have feigned illness, and so put off Sunday service, on learning that his pews and tower were harbouring a sorely pressed cargo.

The Hawkhurst Gang extended their infamous operations into Sussex as well as Kent; many records proving that of all

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the gangs existing, this was undoubtedly the most brutal. In 1744 they abducted four Customs Officers who attempted to seize some smuggled goods at Shoreham, and after wounding and severely maltreating them, brought them to Hawkhurst, where they bound them to trees and whipped them within an inch of their lives. The poor wretches were then shipped off to France. In the following year the same gang descended upon three preventive-men while they were quietly drinking in an ale-house, subjected them to hard usage, and robbed them. Farmhouse raids were also numbered among the doings of these marauders, in one of which they stole wool to the value of £1,500.

At the end of the 16th and beginning of the 17th centuries, Sussex had become a veritable hotbed of smugglers; so much so, indeed, that often their plunderings were carried on in broad daylight. In 1746 the government dispatched two regiments of dragoons to "awe" these ruffians. At Eastbourne, in the summer of 1744, the Customs Officers received information that a cargo would be landed in the neighbourhood of Pevensey Bay. These preventive-men were evidently little more than fools, for they proceeded to the spot accompanied by only five dragoons, and were surprised to find one hundred armed men who disarmed them, fired among them, and slashed them with swords. The discomfiture of the Customs men can well be imagined as they helplessly watched the smugglers load their horses with the illicit cargo, and triumphantly gallop off in the direction of London.

A curious tale is told of how an officer once, near Goring, made a cut at a smuggler's head with his sword. The man sprang back, but not soon enough to prevent the sword shaving off his nose. With great presence of mind he picked up his dismembered organ and clapped it back to its place, where in time it grew again.

A smuggler's view of an apology for his profession was demonstrated with dogged pertinacity by one of that fraternity at his trial in 1735. The judge had just pronounced sentence, opining that a smuggler was as great, if not a greater criminal than a highwayman. "That can't be," replied the prisoner. "A smuggler only steals, or conceals what is truly his own, as being fairly purchased by him for a valuable consideration; whereas the highwayman takes by violence what belongs to another. . . . Since I and my family must be ruined by this sentence, I will speak what I think upon it: the high taxes

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make living dear, dear living ruins trade, and ruin of trade puts many upon robbing and stealing, and robbing and stealing brings many of them to the gallows. As to my own particular case, I suppose everybody will have charity enough to believe that nobody would follow smuggling if he could live any other way; high duties upon goods destroy industry, because no man can trade with a small stock, where a great deal is paid to the State over and above the price of the commodity, and when a man cannot live by trading in an open way, he will endeavour to do it in a clandestine way."

At the "Dog and Partridge Inn," Slindon Common, Sussex, a particularly revolting murder took place in 1749. One Richard Hawkins was whipped and kicked to death on suspicion of having stolen two packages of tea from a fellow smuggler. Jerry Curtis, John Mills, and another who passed under the name Rowland or Robb, enticed Hawkins to join them at the alehouse on some pretext or other, when, after imbibing a convivial glass, they informed him that he was their prisoner. On being taxed with the theft, he strongly protested his innocence, but his captors proceeded to maltreat him, whereon he confessed that his father-in-law, and brother-in-law, the Cockrels, who kept an inn in the vicinity, were concerned in the robbery. Curtis and Mills promptly rode over to the inn, and confronting the younger Cockrel, demanded their bags of tea. The latter denied all knowledge of the affair, whereat Curtis thrashed him with a heavy stick. He and his father were then placed on horses, and the party were proceeding back to Slindon, when they were met on the high road by Robb and Winter, the landlord, who in a whisper told them that Hawkins, in the meantime, had died of his wounds. The murderers were greatly concerned at this, for their own safety, and without any explanation ordered the Cockrels to ride back home. The four others then returned to the "Dog and Partridge," and proceeded to dispose of the body of Hawkins. Three or four suggestions were rejected as being likely to betray them, but in the end it was taken some miles into the country, weighted with stones, and sunk in a deep pond. The crime was eventually discovered, and the usual reward offered. Some gossip regarding the affair had got about, and William Pring, a smuggler, who desired to obtain a pardon, offered to place himself at the disposal of the authorities in tracking down Mills. His offer was accepted, and hearing that he had gone to the West of England to sell

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some contraband goods, Pring followed and found Mill in the company of two others, also badly wanted. He proposed that as all their careers were very black, and it would go exceedingly hard with them if apprehended, they should accompany him and partake of a temporary refuge at his house at Beckenham. This was readily acceded to, but one night, while at supper, Pring left them on some pretext, and returned with a mounted guard, who soon arrested them. Mills was duly executed, and, as was the custom in those days, gibbeted near to the "Dog and Partridge." Curtis, the chief actor in the murder, managed to get out of the country, and it is said joined the French army. Robb also managed by some means to evade the last penalty of the law, and the landlord and his wife were acquitted of being accessories to the crime.

About a mile from from Shoreham, a funeral procession, consisting of a hearse, drawn by four horses, with the driver in deep mourning, was stopped by some soldiers in 1751. The coffin was opened, and was found to contain gold and silver French lace, silks, cambrics and tea. The "mourners" were escorted to the Custom House at Shoreham.

The brutality of the smugglers is well illustrated by the following anecdote. Two men were once proceeding to the house of a Justice of the Peace to lay an information against certain members of the notorious Hawkhurst Gang; halting at an inn, they were captured by the very men they had set out to betray. Galley and Chater, the informers, were resting on a couch when a smuggler entered the room, and with his spurs slashed and cut their faces. At night they were both tied to one horse, and driven forth into the country, accompanied by a large number of the gang, who lashed them with whips. Their position was then altered, and with their heads hanging down, they were again ruthlessly scourged. The weaker of the two men, Galley, soon succumbed to this rough usage, and was buried by the wayside. The other victim was then taken to another inn and chained in an outhouse, while his tormentors revelled in a drunken carousal. Eventually, more dead than alive, he was strapped to another horse, and driven to a disused well, into which he was cast and his death hastened by the dropping of heavy stones upon him. The disappearance of these two men soon aroused suspicion; a search was made, resulting in the discovery of their bodies, their murderers were promptly secured and justice meted out to them.

Whipping was a common punishment awarded by the

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smugglers to anyone incurring their displeasure, and with common informers they were unusually severe. One Tapner, another member of the Hawkhurst Gang, thrashed a woman naked across Slindon Common, and then killed her, for giving information against him.

The annals of the Ruxley Gang are revolting in the extreme; they were headed by one Ruxley, at Hastings, in 1761, and for years practised their atrocities there and in the district. But they overstepped the mark in villainy in 1768, when they captured a Dutch vessel, and killed the captain by splitting him in two with a large axe. Returning to shore, they became so drunk that they informed people of how the Dutchman wriggled, and this led to their apprehension. On another occasion two preventive-men fell into their grasp and were pinned down below high-water mark on Seaford Sands, so that with the incoming tide they were drowned.

Rye and its vicinity became noted for a very extensive illicit trade. From the time of Queen Anne supreme contempt had been evinced towards the various acts passed by the legislature for the protection of British trade. Large fortunes had been made by the many individuals engaged in the wool smuggling out trade, and in later times equally as large fortunes were made by those dealing in tea, tobacco, lace, silks, spirits, etc.

At Rye, in 1747, a score of brigands invaded the town and established themselves at an inn there, drinking and making merry. Staggering into the street in a more or less intoxicated condition after their revel, they startled everyone by firing off their pistols at random, and detecting a young man named Marshall, who was closely observing their behaviour, they seized and carried him off. He was never seen again.

On another occasion fourteen men belonging to the Rye gang were executed for the brutal murder of a Customs officer. A coastguard raid upon a galley occurred at Rye Harbour in 1826, when the smugglers were so hotly pursued by the revenue cutter that their boat ran ashore. They opened a heavy fire upon the government men, but a party of blockaders arrived in time, and seized some of them. Almost immediately a reserve force of some two hundred smugglers, armed to the teeth, came rushing out from the woods and inner districts. After a great deal of hard fighting, the smugglers were eventually repulsed, but contrived to make their escape.

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Between Hythe and Rye, a distance of some 20 miles, is the Royal Military Canal, made by order of William Pitt, when the Napoleonic invasion scare was rife, and which has since given rise to many humorous and satirical comments. While swimming across this, a party of smugglers, with the tubs strapped to their backs, miscalculated their landing place in the dark, and were drowned.

In the neighbourhood of south-east Essex smuggling was carried on in the last century to an alarming extent. The inhabitants were notorious for their rebellious spirit, their uncouth, and almost uncivilized manner of living, and their amazing drinking capabilities. Even the clergy, who should have known better, did not exempt themselves from this mode of living.

Canvey Island, at the mouth of the Thames, played an important part in the smuggling trade of this country. It is six miles long and three miles broad, and may be reached from the mainland at low water. The island was first drained by Dutchmen, under the direction of Sir Henry Appleton, the famous royalist. These Dutchmen eventually settled there, and carried on a more or less questionable trade with the Continent.

Again, the coast line near Shoeburyness is broken here and there by deep gaps or ravines in the cliffs, and these contributed their share to the smuggling lore of the district. Stallibrass' Gap, especially, must have afforded shelter to many a midnight run. Further up the coast, the Blackwater River, and the countless creeks and openings which abound in this neighbourhood, all have a tale to tell regarding some scheme to rob the revenue. The Custom House at Colchester was broken open in 1847. Two men arrived early one morning in the town, and saying that they were Customs Officers come to arrange about depositing a cargo which they had seized, asked the way to the Custom House. On being directed there, a score or more armed smugglers followed, and breaking open the premises, carried off 1,514 lbs. of tea. The townsmen were too frightened to oppose the ruffians, who disappeared completely, leaving no clue to their identification.

One system of smuggling, very prevalent on the Eastern coast, was known as "coopering." A number of vessels would remain just outside the three-mile limit, and dispose of tea, tobacco, and spirits, generally of the vilest description,

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to the fishermen of the locality. So successful was the working of this method that the fishermen became bold and careless in their transactions; suspicion was aroused, and the inevitable government raid followed. It transpired, however, that the alarm had been given in time to enable the smugglers to throw a large proportion of dutiable goods overboard, and only a small quantity was found by the Customs authorities.

The escape of two noted smugglers named Johnson and Tapson from the New Borough Gaol is worth recording. These desperate characters, for whom warrants had long been out, were finally apprehended, together with others, and three cart-loads of goods, by a party of dragoons in the neighbourhood of Croydon. The prisoners were escorted to London, and lodged in an apartment of the gaol, the window of which overlooked the courtyard. One morning they were visited by an accomplice, who conveyed firearms to them. While the visitor remained in conversation with them, Johnson contrived to send the gaolers away on pretext of bringing something from his sleeping apartment. The visit at an end, the turnkey opened a door for the visitor to depart, when the smugglers overpowered him, and so made good their escape. As they still had their irons on it was thought that their capture was inevitable, but the resources of their friends had not been counted on. Outside were three horses, on which they dashed away threatening to blow out the brains of anyone who dared molest them.

A detailed account of the tricks employed by the smugglers in carrying out their schemes would fill a lengthy article. In many farmhouses the construction of the chimneys allowed for a chamber in the depth of the wall, the entrance to which was a little way up the chimney. Again, many a priest's hiding place, which had formerly provided a refuge against religious persecution, came in handy as a safe harbour for bales of tobacco and kegs of brandy. Another favourite device was the use of large stone jars or bottles with movable bottoms through which lace and silks were put, and the bottom fixed. They were then passed off as "empties" going abroad to be refilled.

In the realms of fiction smugglers have provided material for many a thrilling romance, although in the majority of cases vivid imagination has taken the place of literal accuracy. The author of *The Ingoldsby Legends*, the Rev. Richard H.

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Barham, had studied one smuggling locality at first hand, since he was for a time curate at Ashford, Westwell, and eventually Vicar of Snargate. In that fine legend "The Smuggler's Leap," we read the true story of Anthony Gill, an exciseman of Sandwich, who in pursuit of a smuggler one foggy night, rode over the cliff and perished with his enemy.

The fireflash shines from Reculver cliff,
And the answering light burns blue in the skiff,
And there they stand, that smuggling band,
Some in the water, and some on the sand,
Ready those contraband goods to land:
The night is dark, they are silent and still.
At the head of the party is Smuggler Bill!

The smuggling of to-day, although one occasionally hears of government seizures of contraband goods, is but a paltry affair, when contrasted with the old time cargo-running. The once flourishing trade is now confined to small quantities of tobacco and saccharine, and by the ladies (for smuggling is by no means peculiar to one sex) lace and scent. The modern contrabandist is but a spiritless, prosaic individual, compared with the hoary, armed-to-the-teeth, brigand of long ago, who patrolled the coast, ready to fight hard to defend what he considered a time-honoured custom.

GRAY'S INN GARDENS: New Glimpses of Francis Bacon

BY CHRISTIAN TEARLE.

IT seems probable that when, in or about 1580, Francis Bacon took up his abode in Gray's Inn, all the garden which the Society could boast of was a strip running immediately behind what is now the west side of Gray's Inn Square. A few years earlier, as appears by Aggas's map, this piece of land, together with so much of the site of Gray's Inn Square as ran northward of the present No. 1 had been laid out as a garden. But at the beginning of the third decade of Elizabeth's reign there had been much building in the Inn. By 1580 the site of South Square was no longer a close of pasture land as Aggas shows it, and the north side of Gray's Inn Square—for convenience' sake that site is throughout



Gray's Inn, from Ralph Aggas's map, circa 1580.

Photograph by Donald Macbeth, London.



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this article referred to by its present name—was built upon from east to west, and houses standing at right-angles to this north row of buildings, and occupying, more or less exactly, the sites of the present Nos. 5 and 10, were also in existence.

The new-comer got the benefit of whatever garden was left, for the house which contained his "chamber" occupied the site of the present No. 1. There seems to be no doubt that the quarters allotted to him were those which his father, Sir Nicholas, had held; and these quarters, altered and enlarged in or about 1589, were his home until he married in 1606. After his fall they became his retreat, and it was from there that in March, 1626, he departed in his coach for Highgate, never to see his beloved Inn again.

Bacon has put on record his views as to what a garden ought to be, and it is easy to imagine what he thought of the poor strip under his back-windows. But a garden could not be made unless there were land available, and a lad of nineteen, even if he happened to be the son of one of the Inn's most respected worthies, must needs bide his time before he could move the grave and reverend fathers of the Bench table to lay out "Walks." Eleven years later, however, he had been elected to a seat at that table, and apparently the ball had been set a-rolling. It appears by the *Pension Book of Gray's Inn*, edited by the Preacher, the Rev. Reginald J. Fletcher, that in February, 1591, the Benchers deputed four of their number, including "Mr. Bacon," to survey and report upon certain proposed operations in the Society's "back feild," the place referred to being a field called Gray's Inn Close, which lay just behind the west side of Gray's Inn Square. No reasonable person can dispute Mr. Fletcher's conjecture that this was the first step taken towards the making of the "Walks," the famous gardens of Gray's Inn. They are Bacon's handiwork—"the best gardens of any of the Inns of Court."

The *Pension Book* shows that less than a year after the appointment of this committee, some progress had been made; there is a record that on February 9, 1592, Daniell, one of Bacon's three colleagues, had lent the Society £16, "towards the making of ther Walks." We know that at this time "Mr. Bacon" was not in a position to lend money. Whether he was any better off in 1600 is doubtful, but the record shows that in that year the Inn owed him £20 6s. 8d. in respect of the "Walks," and in the account which he rendered it is pleasant to come across the names of some of the trees and flowers

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which in his essay "Of Gardens" he mentions as suitable to the climate of London. The items include cherries—we know that he planted these for their April blossom—"standerds of roses," woodbines, "pincks violets and primroses"—not "prime-roses" as he spells it in his essay. It was in the "Walks" to which this account refers that on a spot close to the south end of the present Raymond Buildings, he, during his treasurership, raised a mount and summer-house; and near this site the catalpa, traditionally planted by him, still flourishes.

The records further show that between 1598 and 1600 the north wall of the "Walks" was completed. This was of no great length, for the good reason that, roughly speaking, all the land available was the field above referred to: an oblong space bounded on the north by a strip of pasture land, abutting upon the present Theobald's Road, and now forming part of the terrace; bounded on the south by the present Field Court, and extending from the Inn's western wall no further eastward than the western side of Gray's Inn Square. It is in connection with the small close of land lying at the back of the Square, afterwards added to the "Walks" and, except so far as Verulam Buildings have encroached upon it, still forming part of them, that we get the new glimpses of Bacon which are the subject of this article.

In order to explain why this land was not then available we must go back to the year 1579. Prior to that date the north boundary of the Inn proper was a fence corresponding roughly with the north face of Gray's Inn Square. Beyond this lay a meadow called the Panyerman's Close. The panyerman was an Inn servant, who waited at table and brought home provisions from the market, and the close bore his name because one of his perquisites was to let it for his own profit. In 1579 the rent he got was 20s. a year. The north boundary of this close was the eastern end of the before-mentioned strip of pasture land abutting upon the present Theobald's Road.

On February 10, 1579, the Benchers in Pension made an order that one Strickland, a fellow of the Society, was to have the north side of Gray's Inn Square to a depth of 22 ft., to build upon. The term authorized was 60 years, and the lessee was to pay for every "lodging" built 4*d.* a year. By the following July the land had been built upon, and Strickland's lease was vested in Edward Stanhope, a brother member of the Inn. The houses were known as Stanhope's Buildings. Morden and

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Lea's map of London, which bears date 1682, gives a tiny picture of these Buildings. If this be examined through a magnifying glass, it seems to show that they were built of wood and plaster, and it is evident that the roofs were a bewildering mass of gables. Stanhope's Buildings were pulled down during the last quarter of the eighteenth century, and the present Nos. 6, 7, 8 and 9 Gray's Square were raised upon the site.

Shortly after the Buildings were erected Stanhope obtained a lease of the close behind them. The *Pension Book*, under date of July 6, 1579, sets out a memorandum to the effect that as the new buildings were likely to be very much annoyed because half of the Panyerman's Close was commonly surrounded and overflowed with standing water, and as it would cost £30 to put matters right, and as, moreover, Stanhope had undertaken to drain and fence the close, the same, subject to certain reservations of no great importance, was granted to him for 60 years, he paying to the panyerman for the time being a yearly rent of 20s. Thus it appears that in 1579 Stanhope held a 60 years' lease of the north side of Gray's Inn Square, and a 60 years' lease of the close behind; therefore he was entitled to possession of the two until 1639, subject, of course, to his performing his part of the bargain.

In 1581—Stanhope being then a Benchers—leave was given to him to cause the trees on the close to be "shredded" to the height of 8 ft. above the top of a mud wall which he was making. Seeing that the trees were "goodly tall timber trees," this entry is significant, for even assuming—as was probably not the fact—that he had so far done none of the wicked things alleged against him 24 years later, the grant of such a licence as this seems to indicate that the Inn was content to let him deal with the close as he pleased. It was not until ten years later, be it remembered, that the first step towards the making of the "Walks" was taken. In 1581 the close was, in all probability, a small, rough piece of meadow land, hidden behind Stanhope's Buildings, and of no interest to anyone but Stanhope and his tenants.

For the next 16 years, that is until 1597, the *Pension Book* contains no mention of the Panyerman's Close. Mr. Fletcher, in his delightful introduction to the first volume, says that it was not until 1598 that the making of the "Walks" really began to make progress. This being so, there can be no doubt that the plans had been under consideration for some time, and it

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is, at least, a curious coincidence that in the year before 1598 a hostile attack upon Stanhope's dealings with the land should have been made. On June 13, 1597, the Bench, without having, so far as the records show, given the matter any previous consideration, made an order that all the stables which he had built upon the close were to be pulled down, or if it should be thought meet to let them stand, then none of them "or any other there to bee" at any time thereafter should be used for dwelling-houses.

This order, owing to its alternative form, speaks with a rather uncertain sound. Of what followed as between the Society and its lessee there is no record. But we know that the stables were not pulled down. A paving order, made two years later, seems to show that the Inn had acquiesced in Stanhope's doings, for this order, so far as it related to his holding, merely directed that so much of the work as lay "all alonge Mr. Stanhopes stables gardens and buildings" should be done at his charges. There is not a word to put on record the fact that the said stables, gardens and buildings were a nuisance, and a continuing breach of Stanhope's obligations; and yet, something of the kind might have been expected of a legal corporation, if any such grievance had been in existence.

Mr. Fletcher does not suggest that there is any trace of Bacon's hand in the Inn's dealings with the close until some years after 1600, but taking the records as they stand, may it not fairly be conjectured that in 1597 Bacon engineered an attempt to put matters in train for recovering possession, and that the order of that year was the result? If this attempt came to nothing, owing to his colleagues not having cared to proceed to extremities, is it not equally likely that for the time being he felt obliged to acknowledge defeat, and do the best he could with the land at his disposal? Under these circumstances the grievance which he had raised would die a natural death, and the savour of acquiescence in Stanhope's doings, which the paving-order of 1599 seems to breathe, is accounted for. At the date of that order the making of the "Walks" must have been well advanced. It was too late in one sense, and too soon in another, for the plans to be extended to the Panyerman's Close.

No one with Bacon's views as to what a garden ought to be could have surveyed the "back feild" in 1591 without longing to add to it the close adjoining, and it is not very fantastic to picture him in that year and the years following,



Francis Bacon.

By permission of the Treasurer and Masters of the Bench of Gray's Inn.
Photograph by Donald Macbeth, London.



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looking over Stanhope's fence with envious eyes, and racking his brains to discover some means of getting rid of the sixty-years' term. When Francis Bacon wanted anything he generally tried to get it, and he was not over-nice about the means. Possibly a good deal of underground working went on before the Bench could be prevailed upon to make the order of 1597. If at that date Bacon had hoped to include the Panyerman's Close in the walks then about to be laid out, he was disappointed; but eight years later he gained his end, and the failure of 1597 proved a stepping-stone to the success of 1605. The ejectment order, which we are now approaching, was founded in part upon a recital—neither fair nor accurate in its terms—of the order of 1597, followed by an allegation that it had received no due execution.

In 1605 Bacon stood on the threshold of his greatness. During the last years of Elizabeth there had been a blight upon his career, but now the new king—chilly though he had been at first—was showing signs of favour. Many things had happened since the prosecution of Essex, and the world was beginning to forget the part which Bacon had played in that tragedy. He was no longer "in disgrace with fortune and men's eyes." The long-coveted solicitorship was almost within his grasp. Can it be doubted that he was already all-powerful in Gray's Inn—that his colleagues of the Bench table were ready to act upon his bidding? Eight years before, they had dealt with Stanhope in gingerly fashion; now they were in a different mood: they turned him out neck-and-crop.

The order of ejectment bears date October 29, 1605—it was in that very month and year that the *Advancement of Learning* was published from the Holborn gate of the Inn—and the Benchers directly responsible were eleven in number, including Bacon himself. This order, as recorded in the Society's archives, was the work of no ordinary draughtsman. In mere length it is remarkable; it fills two pages and a half of Mr. Fletcher's *Pension Book*. It is a long chain of reasoning, very skilfully forged link by link, to justify its conclusion, and yet it leaves upon the mind of anyone who dispassionately considers the terms of the original grant, and remembers that for eighteen years after that grant had been made Stanhope was allowed to go his way unmolested, an impression that the reasoner was conscious that his legal position was a weak one, and that he was eager to make out

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a strong moral case by putting the worst possible gloss upon his adversary's acts or defaults. It is, at least, suspicious that so little should be said about what the demise expressed, and so much about what it implied.

At the head of the measured and sonorous indictment which the order sets forth, Stanhope is branded as a liar, and his conduct from the very beginning of the transaction is tainted with a suggestion of fraud. It was by misrepresentation that he obtained the lease—by “pretending” that the close was generally flooded; by “pretending” that it would cost £30 to drain it. Seeing that the Benchers who made the order must have had the land under their eyes for years, it is difficult to believe that these allegations—or at least the first of them—had any foundation in fact.

All the earlier records of the Inn's dealings with the Close are couched in such language as any Elizabethan scrivener would have had at his command. There is no style to be found in the writing, but this order is very different. Apart from the weight and dignity of the indictment as a whole, and the dexterity with which the oratorical hammer can deliver a back-handed blow—all the happier for its unexpectedness—and drive a nail further home, there are passages which bear a cadence faintly recalling the Book of Common Prayer. What other record of an Inn of Court can show writing such as this?

And whereas after the said lease soe obtained the said Edward Stanhope did for the levelling of the said ground cause & permitt to be brought into the same the scavage of the street & the like noisome stuffe, wherebie he did not onlie extreamelie annoy the house for the presente while it was in doing, but did alsoe performe the raising of the said ground without any manner of charge to himselfe & contrariwise not without benefitt & gayne at the scavengers hands for suche his sufferance and receiving.

Mark the force and unexpectedness with which a new charge is launched in the concluding words beginning “and contrariwise”! The passage which follows is hardly less impressive:

And whereas not long after the said Edward Stanhope, contrarie to the intent of the said order by which it was conceived that the said close shold have been turned into a faire & levell greene pasture to the beautie & pleasure of the said house & the chambers & grounds adjacent, did contrive

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& porcion out the said ground into little garden plotts, to the number of sixteene or more, & did lett the same unto certene poore people, there to bleeche their clothes, & for other the like base uses.

And what trained ear can fail to recognize the measured beat of the sentence which closes the main string of recitals?

By all which devises & meanes the said Edward Stanhope raised a private commoditie to himselfe of a yearelie rent of xxx^{li} or more by the space of xx yeares together att the least.

In the next clause Stanhope is arraigned for having wilfully cut down and wasted 17 at least of the 38 "goodly tall timber trees" which formerly stood in the close, "to the great beautifying and defense of the house uppon the northe part thereof"; and after a brief reference to the royal proclamation against certain buildings, the order of 1597 and its non-execution are passed under review. The recital of this order is unfair and inaccurate, as anyone who turns back to the record of it can see.

At the end of the recitals the court proceeds to sum up the conclusion at which it has arrived, and then pronounces judgment: "Foreasmuche therefore," as the Readers entering into due consideration of the premises do find certain things, all of which are set out with the same dignity—

and doe find also that the intencion of the first demise was to avoid nuisance & not to encrease or multiplie nuisance. . . . Therefore & for the manifold abuses before remembred, it is ordered at this present pencion, by the full and generall consent of all the Readers there presente, that the said close called the Panyarmans close, the former order of demyse notwithstanding, be declared to be presently resiezed & resumed into the hands of the said Societie, to bee inclosed & converted for the good of the said Societie as hereafter shalbe thought fitt. . . .

Can it be doubted that in this order the *Pension Book* contains a characteristic and hitherto unrecognized writing of Francis Bacon?

Due execution followed judgment; George Isack, the carpenter, pulled down the stables and received £6 14s. 8d. for his pains. Presently the Panyerman's Close was walled in on the north and east, and the land was added to the Walks. Bacon—Treasurer of the Society from 1608 to 1617—spent

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the Inn's money freely upon it, and time has prospered his handiwork. To this day a wide stretch of green turf, "faire and levell," rolls up from the north side of Gray's Inn Square to the lordly terrace which in old days looked out across meadows to Hampstead and Highgate.

A last word as to "the panyerman for the time being." It is a satisfaction to know that though Stanhope may have been despoiled of his property, the rights of the Inn servant were not ignored. The accounts show that Bacon paid him 20s. a year, "for the rent of the gardens."

THE BUILDING OF NONSUCH HOUSE, SURREY: April-September, 1538. (From Contemporary Notes).

BY HENRY LITTLEHALES

JUST outside the little village of Ewell in Surrey, only indeed a few hundred feet to the north-east, fourteen miles from London, stood once a great house, so magnificent in its construction as to be called "Nonsuch." This house, of which virtually nothing now remains, was erected by Henry VIII.

Though the mansion has long since disappeared, the names of many of the workmen who built it, the record of the tools they used and many other details still remain, set down with pen and ink, and open to the investigation of those interested in such matters.

The pages in which these facts are preserved form a large volume at the Public Record Office.¹ This book contains something like a hundred paper leaves, the writing on which is for the most part perfectly distinct.

It is divided into five sections, which together cover the period April-September, 1538. The method of entering the materials purchased and the wages paid, etc., is very precise. First is the heading giving the period of which the section treats; immediately following are the names of the men employed and the wages paid to them. Each man's name is given under its proper heading—carpenters, masons, and so forth, with the amount he is paid per day, and the total

¹ Exchequer Accounts, 477-12.

THE BUILDING OF NONSUCH HOUSE.

amount paid him during the period. We can see how many men were employed at a given time and what was their craft. Last in each section come the list of purchases made and the sums paid out for various purposes.

Having now given some description of the book we may note such items as are of particular interest, giving but one instance however frequently the item recurs.

The heading of the first page reads:

Codyngton.

Costys and Expensis don [there from the . . .] daye of
Apriell in the XXX [yere of the reigne of] our soverayn lorde
King Hen[ry th'eighte unto the] XX daye of Maye.

Codyngton is the medieval spelling of Cuddington, the parish next Ewell.

Then follow the names and the amounts paid to the masons, carpenters, bricklayers, sawyers and labourers. In the first month a certain number of men were employed. There were: 15 masons, 1 sawyer and his fellow, 8 bricklayers, 5 carters, 2 clerks, and 52 labourers.

In the next month many more men were engaged, namely, 24 masons, 42 carpenters, 31 bricklayers, 1 plasterer with 3 servitors, 11 sawyers, each with his fellow, 7 carters, 4 chalk diggers, 2 clerks, and 106 labourers.

The first purchase we meet with of any special interest is that of a number of hurdles which were bought at Chypstede (Chipstead). The purpose for which they were procured is not clear, but from details given later on and in other MSS. of the time it seems that hurdles were in some way connected with the scaffolding.¹

The next entry of interest tells us of the "rubber": "To James Ketell aforesaide for a rubber for the masons to werke theire tolis vppon, 3s. 4d." Clearly this was the stone upon which the tools were sharpened, a whet-stone.

Later on, bast ropes for the scaffolding were procured, and spades, pails and shovels. Three "hande barrowes," costing 4d. each, were obtained from a local tradesman. Two "hatchettes" for the "lyme burners" were bought of Henry Chapman of Ewell, "smythe," for 7d. each, and two axes for the burners at 1s. each. Three wedges "stelid" [that is furnished

¹ Hurdles occur constantly in early building accounts; they were probably used for the movable platforms on which the workmen stood.—EDITOR.

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with a steel face] "for to cleve wode," weighing 13 lbs., cost 2s. 2*d.* Two "fyer forkes" and two "pronges," weighing 28 lbs. cost 3s. 6*d.*

The next entries consist of a very large number of payments for "lande carriage" of stone, the carters being engaged from Wymbulton, Totyng, Morden, Clapam, Micham, and various other places.

The final entry for this section is for the carriage of "talwood" (billets, firewood). This was brought from Kyngswood, mainly by carters living at Ewell.

May-June.

This section records payments and particulars from May to June. The masons are called "fremasons," that is, workers in free-stone, the chief mason being designated the "warden" and the others "lodgemen." The warden was paid 4s. a week, and each lodgeman 3s. 4*d.* Of the carpenters, the chief warden received 5s. a week; the wages of the others varied a good deal, some getting 6*d.*, and some as much as 9*d.* a day. Of the bricklayers, the chief warden received 10*d.* a day, the warden 8*d.*, 25 others were paid 7*d.* a day, 3 received 6*d.* and one 5*d.* Carters were paid 14*d.* a day, which apparently included the hire of the horse and cart. Labourers received 4*d.* a day.

Timber and "Rigate stone" were delivered in this month, and £4 16s. was paid "to William of Kyngston for xvi lodes of lyme, every lode conteynyng xl bushellis."

Twelve thousand "playn tyle," two hundred "rydge tyle," and seven bushels of tile pins were bought. £3 5s. was paid to Thomas Burton "for the hewyng & squaryng" of 65 loads of timber, and a new bucket for the well was purchased at a cost of 12*d.*

At this time the chief carpenter and chief bricklayer were sent on horseback riding from one place to another for 9 days, being paid, each of them, 12*d.* a day.

James Ketell, the London ironmonger, now supplies many thousands of different kinds of nails and a number of "sentillis," the meaning of which we are unable to determine.

Six stone axes for the "leyers," four trowels for the "setters," and two "settyng hammers" are purchased. The number of tools bought seems insignificant amongst so many workmen and we may suppose it to have been usual for each man to own his own tools. More tools were purchased later, though never a large number. In the August-September

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section we see that three chisels were purchased for the carpenters to take down boards from an old barn; it is possible therefore that small purchases of tools were made for particular purposes, for work, that is, which would lie outside the ordinary employment.

Three "wynchys of yorn, ij of them for ij grindstonis and the other for the well," cost 7*s.* 9*d.*

For "stelyng of iiij mattokes for the chalk diggers" 16*d.* was paid.

A somewhat significant entry is that of "carriage of ston from Merton Abby, by the space of iiij mile at ij*d.* the mile, at viij*d.* the lode." Nearly 50 carters were employed from the neighbouring villages for this purpose.

June-July.

The masons now, though retaining their chief (the warden) are divided for the future into "setters," at 3*s.* 8*d.* a week, and "lodgemen" at 3*s.* 4*d.*

"Roughe layers" are engaged and are paid as follows: the chief warden 10*d.* a day, the warden 8*d.*, 50 or 60 others 7*d.*, a few 6*d.*, and "prentises" 5*d.* and 6*d.* a day.

A plasterer is engaged at 6*d.* a day, and a "scaffolder" also at 6*d.*; three "servitors" get 5*d.* and "chalke diggers" 6*d.*

"Playnche bord" and "harte lathe" are now purchased. Heart-laths were made from inner and harder wood, and were used for outside work. Now, too, a purchase is made of "xli lode of Alder polis to make schaffoldis." Alder was commonly used for scaffolding poles in the Middle Ages.

Robert Wynson of Bylynghurst receives 6*s.* "for iij dussen pailles to put water in for the masons and roughe layers to set theyr ston with."

Five "yron shode shovellis" at 5*d.* each and "iiij bare shovellis" at 2*d.* each, are bought from John Dowset at Kyngston. Halliwell tells us that a shod shovel was one of wood partly covered with iron; a bare shovel may have been one wholly unshod.

The chief carpenter and bricklayer now go on another excursion, this time to get workmen and timber.

A plasterer is sent out to get hair, and is paid 8*d.* a day for his horse in addition to his wages.

Twenty wheelbarrows are procured from Hampton Court and several sawpits dug.

We now have an interesting reference to overtime: "Fre-

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masons workyng theire howre tymis & drynkyng tymis, rated for every howre *1d.*"

In another medieval account book (Exch. Acc. 459-22) we read of "Massons workyng tymys & dryn[kyng tymys] for the hasty expedyscyön" of certain work and labourers "workyng theyr howers and drynkyng tymys" at a halfpenny the hour. The drinking time was a recognized period for refreshment in the Middle Ages.

The following entry seems to show that 10 hours constituted the medieval working day: "Carpenters rated for every x howres *viiijd.*" Another batch of carpenters were rated at *7d.* and another at *6d.* the 10 hours. Roughlayers, too, were rated at so much for every 10 hours.

July-August.

A hodmaker at *5d.* a day is now engaged.

Nearly 200 labourers were employed this month, in addition to skilled workmen. Thirteen "mowntes"¹ of plaster of Paris were purchased of a "merchant man" near London Bridge, and three more "mowntes" of John Frank of Billingsgate.

Richard Isok of Kyngston is paid *4s.* "for setting on of *xlviij* hopis [hoops] vppon the tubbis that holdithe the water at the mortar heape"; *2d.* is paid "for a markyng yron to mark ladders and whele barrows."

Twopence is paid for two "setting chisellis for the setters," and Thomas Green of Rigate, carpenter, receives *31s. 6d.* "for fellyng, hewyng & squaryng" timber.

Two sawpits were made in Lee wood.

August-September.

Two "thacchers" [thatchers] are now engaged.

A load of "syngle quarters" is purchased and a quantity of straw to thatch "a workyng howse for the carpenters."

Apparently a good deal of work was done on the spot.

A hempen rope for the well, weighing 56 lbs., cost *7s.*, and 16 bundles of "harsell rodde" for the thatchers cost *2d.* a bundle. We are not able to explain the meaning of "harsell" as a word, but apparently the rods were cross pieces to bind down the thatch.

£60 was paid to John Seborow, William Hudson, and William Merten of Stook, "for diggyng, moldyng, setting, & burnyng of syx hunderd thowsand brikkes."

¹ A mount of plaster of Paris was 3,000 lbs.

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Five "drift pynnis," weighing 15 lbs., are procured for the carpenters, and also a hammer, weighing 11 lbs., "for to dryve in the drift pynnis." Drift pins usually cost 2*d.* apiece.

During the progress of the work the axes of the masons and rough layers cost a considerable sum for "bateryng," which is the term used for beating and bringing to a point and cutting edge.

A SURREY TOUR IN 1747: Extracted from George Vertue's Note Books.

By R. M. BURCH.

HAVING recently had occasion to go through a number of volumes of MS. compiled by the celebrated English engraver, George Vertue (1684-1756), afterwards in the possession of Horace Walpole, and now at the British Museum, I came across the following in one of them, which I thought might be of interest to some of your readers. I think it will be tolerably intelligible, though Vertue's jerky style, the result of many years of hurried note-taking, is apt at times to render his meaning obscure. His interest in everything relating to engraving is evidenced by the detailed description of seals used by Charles II during the Interregnum, and appended to grants made by him to Sir Edward Nicholas, which are no doubt still preserved at Horsley; a pen-and-ink outline sketch of the house at Horsley faces the commencement of the MS.

1747, Aug. 19.—Wensday Morn. Set out from London by the Coach [to] Guildford in Surrey.

11 at Kingston, by 3 o'clock at West Horseley,¹ the Seat of William Nicholas, Esq., whose kind invitation to come and make it a retirement and refreshment for some days as I in-

¹ Allowing one hour from Guildford to Horsley, this would represent an average speed of about 5 miles an hour, which was perhaps the normal one for the first half of the 18th century. In the course of a journey from Winchester to London about 25 years earlier (1722), Lord Percival, in a MS. I have seen lately, went with his family (probably in a Chariot with 4 or 6 horses) from Farnham to Guildford "over the downs" (*i.e.*, along the Hog's Back), and "the roads being good" passed on to Epsom, the whole journey occupying 5½ hours, or also about 5 miles an hour.

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tended. At the Inn at Kingston, upstairs in the windows, this Cifer [the monogram H.A. ensigned by a crown] and also another thus [the monogram H.R.], the first being for Anne and Henry VIII, and the [second] for Henry Rex. Being come to Horseley, Mr. Nicholas, according to his invitation last year, received me with Civilities and welcomes in a very obliging manner and friendly:—after wee dined he conducted me about his house and gardens till the evening. Next morning, being Thursday, after breakfast we set out in his chariot and four horses and servants to wait on Mr. Henry Weston at Chertsey Abby, about 8 or 10 mile from Horseley—where this Gentleman lives—and also next his house is the Great House and Gardens of — Hynde, built upon the site of the Old Abbey. Some of the old walls and the mote about only remaining, and no scrap of the Religious house, these having been and [an] old house or dwelling till of late years, which being pulled down and a new brick regular building erected in the place of it, and handsomely adorn'd and furnisht. There wee din'd very plentifully at Mr. Weston. Some good modern family pictures; returned home to Horseley.

Friday morning, after a walk about Gardens of the House, and breakfast, we past some time in the study of books, MSS., &c. A Diary this gentleman has, of the memorable publick affairs, deaths and promotions of persons of Distinction, writ by Sir John Nicholas, who was in several stations about the Court of King Charles 2nd, Clerk of the Council, &c., and to King James, but afterwards to King William and to Queen Anne; these remarks in his own hand from 1660 to his death ano. 1705, which I did not read nor extract any part. Sir John was Knight of the Bath at the Restoration, his picture with the Red Riband painted very well by Lely, 1661. At the same time was also painted by Sir P. Lely the picture of old Sir Edward Nicholas, Secretary of State to King Charles ye first and second, who was born at Winterborn East, near Sarum in Wilts, the 4th of April, 1592, and died aged above fourscore.

Observations on several books, prints, &c. One deed, parchment, finely writ and enluminated, with the broad seal of the King Charles 2nd, apud castrum Elizabeth in Jersey, green wax. The King sitting under a canopy, Lion and Unicorn supporting on each side, carrying Standards of ye English and Scotch Armes. Rev: the King on horseback, under the horse a Lyon—the horse head [a little sketch here] and on the other side of the King a Garter with the King's Arms quartered.

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"To Sir Edward Nicholas, our principal Secretary of State," appointing him a coat of arms: viz: . . . , to be born by him and his heirs. This deed is dated 1649, month of . . . , and was fairly writ or engrossed by John Nicholas, eldest son of Sir Edward. ? where and by whom this seal was engraved. Another deed of broad seal from King Charles, to be his Secretary of State, dated at Aquisgrane—Achen or Aix la Chappel—23rd of Aug. 1654, the seal being different from the other. The King setting on his throne, Carolus 2dus. &c. Rev: the King on horse-back, a greyhound running under the horse, as former Kings had, on one side the King's Armes in a . . . crowned, on the other a rose crowned—yellow wax. Another deed of broad seal of King Charles 2nd the same as [above] described, to Sir Edward Nicholas, for to keep a fair at Elmore Green near Shaften, [Shaftesbury] belonging to Gillingham, Com. Dorset. This broad seal is of green wax and at the top [on the seal] is engraved 1653—this date on both sides. This deed is dated apud Westminster, 11 die Martii, ano. Reg. decimo quarto (1662).

Books of Birds

Mr. Willoughby's.

Mr. Catesby

Natural History.

Mr. Albins

Mr. Edwards birds &c.

Mr. Edwards life from 1694,—books published.

Friday, after dinner, went to West Clandon, near Guildford, to see the fine and noble House lately built by the late Lord Onslow and finished by the Present Lord.¹ A noble ascent in front, great stone steps and balustrade entering into a most noble and elegant hall, 40 feet high, adorn'd with marbles, pillars, carvings, bass relievos by Rysbrake, Stuccos, painting, guildings, &c., most rich and costly, a fine dining room, 3 noble portraits of Speakers, one Queen Elizabeth, 1st Richard Onslow, and ye present Speaker, Arthur Onslow. Another spacious noble room, collums, carvings, ornamented richly, called the Palladio room. This house is very spacious, has 12 rooms on a floor, marble tables and richly furnished, built of brick and some stone, a fine view and vista from it, a fine grotto of shellwork, the park and walks noble, great and delightful. Mr. J. Lion was the principal architect and builder.

¹ When Lord Percival passed Clandon on his way to Epsom (see previous footnote), he was informed that the (old) house was being pulled down and replaced by one larger and finer. Of Guildford he remarked that it was a better and more regularly built town than Winchester.

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Morning, Saturday, went to East Horseley, the House of Mr. Fox. A new front, finely contrived, a most beautiful elegant room, 45 ft. long by 22 ft. and 22 ft. high. The excellent works in this room, of collumns, stucco, paintings, the ceilings, venetian windows, ornaments, gildings, carving, chimney pieces of marble, is in the highest perfection and together is really the noblest room that can be seen or imagined; built about 1725; fine garden views and vistas and other beautys adorns this seat, and make it the most admirable of any in the country. Some good portraits, a gentleman half length. Chintz bed chamber—the Duchess of Cleveland; General Monk, $\frac{1}{2}$ length, King Charles 2nd, $\frac{1}{2}$ length.

Saturday, after dinner, went to Albury, the seat of Lord Ailsford, formerly did belong to the Earl of Arundell, and the Dukes of Norfolk. See the house, part of it built by the Earl of Arundell, who chose this seat, and perforated a mountain or hill to drive his coach through to the Gardens. Canal, fountains, grotto, &c., a most romantick prospect and delightfull River passing through the garden. Lord Ailsford I saw,—who invited me to come some other morning to see the views about it, that are admirable,—Lord Andover, his son, and his Lady, a most ingenious, lovely, agreeable Lady, a great lover of curious work and drawing, some her Ladyship shewed me, views taken by herself, drawn in ink and pencil, mighty well. Mr. Henry Finch was also there, a son of the old Earl of Nottingham, whose picture, an original, is there, and he says the best picture of him; a noble fine large room, there is many good portraits, one particularly of James, Duke of York; it being towards the evening, I could not well see them.

Began to draw Sir Edward Nicholas' picture.

Sunday afternoon, Horsley church, an old building, 3 isles and some part very old, round pillars [gives a sketch of one] support the chancel, the other side more modern and higher isles. The old font in the church plain and simple [gives a sketch of it]. In the chancel of the church, a noble monument for Sir Edward Nicholas, another for Sir John Nicholas, and one for his Lady.

Abeil¹ Tree grows in Surrey in great plenty, a timber of quick growth, cutts well and strait, smooth, something harder than deal. The horse chestnut tree brought from the East Indies. At Horsely [is a] plantation of Trees by Sir Edward Nicholas, in groves and rows. Elms about 80 years growth, circum-

¹ The abele, or white poplar, *populus albus*.

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ference tall and high, 8 ft., 7 ft. each the least, an acre of land, 208 sq. feet 8 inches makes an acre, 40 rod in length and 4 rod over, a rod, 16 ft. 6 in.¹

Of ye Cathedral of Salisbury, a large print, 3 foot by 2ft. 6, 4-sheet plan, engravd by Robert Thecker, designer to the King. Morgan plan of London. Mr. Ogilby presenting the book to King Charles.

Monday. After drawing a little we went out, calld at Mr. Tite Gerald's, and from thence went to Mr. Jacobson's house villa, called Lonesome,² his own design and building—din'd there—afterwards went to Wotton, Sir John Evelyn's house, gardens, woods, library, cascades, vistas, elegant and noble to behold—returned to Horsely. The House of Mr. Bridges near it, a new built house after the model of an Italian house, ground floor a noble room, pictures, portraits of the family of Mr. Bridges, 22 ft. by 18, fine chimney piece and a . . . The great room or Salon, fine stucco, gilding, painting, Aurora after Guido, antique, the room 28 by 22, fine marble chimney piece, other chambers above the Mezzanine; din'd today at Mrs. Skreen, Mrs. Barlow's at Cobham.

Tuesday. Drew Sir Nicholas.

Wensday, dito morning. Mr: Turner came to Mr: Nicholas;—evening, ride to Mr. Raymond's House and Park.

Thursday. Drew again; at dinner, Lord Andover at Mr. Nicholas.

Friday. Went to see Mr. Hamilton's house and Park; his fineroom adorn'd with paintings, 2 large fineviews by P. Pannini one the inside of St. Peter's Church at Rome, the other inside of St. John de Lateran at Rome. 2 fine busts, antique. Several other paintings, &c., fine views and park.

Saturday morning, drawing of Sir Nicholas, breakfast, set out for London, returned [home] in the evening.

¹ He probably meant that the plantation covered a superficies of an acre, *i.e.*, a space 40 poles long by 4 wide.

² Lonesome Lodge in Tillingbourne Park, a mile S.E. of Wotton church.

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OLD WORLD PLACES, by Allan Fea, with numerous illustrations from Photographs taken by the Author. Eveleigh Nash; pp. 295; 10s. 6d. net.

To a large circle of readers the prospect of taking another personally conducted tour with Mr. Fea in search of historic and picturesque nooks and corners will prove distinctly alluring. Those who have been with him before, or, in other words, have read his previous books, will need no urging to get this one; those, if such benighted folk there be, who have not been "round" with so entertaining a guide, cannot do better than start with *Old World Places*. We are taken this time through parts of Herts, Essex, Cambridgeshire, Lincolnshire, Notts, Leicestershire, Warwickshire, Staffs, and Derbyshire. It is a part of England which, with the exception of some of the cities and towns, is not generally known. The very names of the villages suggest "Sleepy Hollow": Kirby Muxloe, Sheepy Magna and Parva, Tur Langton, Carlton Curliu, and (a gem for the last) Frisby-on-the-Wreak! Long Itchington, by the way, is not quite so euphonious, and sounds as though it might have been the place really referred to in the well-known story of Sydney Smith. Most of the villages seem to be as pretty as their names, quite a considerable number have preserved the village cross, often with stocks and sometimes pillory or whipping-post in close proximity. Village architecture and craftsmanship show themselves as picturesque and artistic as elsewhere, and the churches, as a whole, will compare favourably with any part of England. We read, alas! the old melancholy tale of devastation wrought by parson and churchwardens in conjunction with the fashionable church architect; Jacobean font-covers thrown on the dust-heap, carved bench-ends, panelling and screens sold to the maker of old furniture, and similar atrocities. Mr. Fea, we are pleased to see, can record his indignation in good set terms. Spalding Church, we are told, has been utterly spoiled; "it is sufficient to say that it was submitted to the tender mercies of Sir Gilbert Scott, whose campaign of church restoration was nearly as deadly as Jeffreys' reign of terror in the west." Yes, it is indeed sufficient, the more's the pity. We do not know Spalding Church, but we can picture its swept and garnished desolation when Scott had "restored" it. As usual Mr. Fea has plenty to say of history and legend, of folk-lore and superstition. The cure for a howling dog is delightful, but the author might have tried it and told us the result. The story of Carlyle and his braces is quite characteristic of the Surly Sage of Chelsea, and we do not remember reading it before. We venture on one or two corrections in minor matters. The Thurloe State Papers were not found in the Gatehouse at Lincoln's Inn, but in some chambers, now pulled down, in Old Square; cross-legged effigies do not, according to the best opinions, denote crusaders; we believe that the late King did not use the chair traditionally associated with Richard III, in consequence of its being pointed out to him that it was of a common Jacobean type; and we rather doubt the existence of an altar-tomb and effigy "some thirty-five years after the Norman invasion" [p. 182]. These are minor points after all; the main point is that *Old World Places* is worthy to rank with the author's previous books on the same lines.

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THE CATHEDRALS OF ENGLAND AND WALES, being a fourth edition of *English Cathedrals Illustrated*, by Francis Bond, M.A., etc. B. T. Batsford; pp. xxii, 493; 7s. 6d. net.

At first we wondered why a fourth edition of a previous book should be issued under a different title; the reason soon becomes obvious, it is to all intents and purposes a new book; largely re-written, wholly re-illustrated, vastly improved. In the twentieth century we are by degrees cutting ourselves free from the conventional shackles of the nineteenth; we are taking down the little tin gods of our fathers and grandfathers, examining them carefully, and seeing which are worthy to be replaced in their old niches. Mr. Bond is doing good work in this direction, pioneer work too, much of it, and that needs courage as well as skill. In the earlier editions of his book, "in conformity with Mr. Rickman's nomenclature, the attempt was made to thrust the history of every cathedral into his Procustean framework of Norman, Early English, Decorated and Perpendicular periods . . . in this volume the actual building periods are treated separately, and no attempt is made to cram them into arbitrary imaginary compartments." Thus are four little tin gods dethroned, and Mr. Bond is at liberty to give his improved knowledge and more critical observation free play, to the immense advantage of the reader. Another great advantage to scientific study (for every one, that is, but the casual sight-seer with half an hour to spare, and he need not be considered), is this: instead of the old guide-book method, of entering at the west door, doing the nave and aisles, continuing to the transepts, and winding up with the choir and retro-choir—instead of this, we begin with the earliest portion and work downwards in time to the latest. The reader thus gets history in its proper sequence, and in addition gets Mr. Bond's illuminative suggestions for the why and wherefore of the alterations and rebuildings made from time to time. This is one of the most valuable features of the new edition, for most people have but the vaguest notion of the difference between monks and secular canons and their respective houses, or of the uses to which the different parts of a cathedral were put and the various functions that were performed in them. Another most useful and instructive feature is the series of plans, all specially drawn to the same scale (100 feet to the inch), so that the comparative dimensions can be at once seen. The work is well illustrated from photographs, many of which are from unpublished views taken by the author and his friends. We could wish that the publisher had eschewed the horrible "loaded" paper; however, copies printed on thin paper can be obtained at the same price.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE ST. PAUL'S ECCLESIOLOGICAL SOCIETY; vol. vii, part I. Harrison and Sons; pp. 36; 5s.

The first article in this part is an account of Lesnes Abbey, Kent, by Mr. Alfred W. Clapham; it forms a revised edition of his report published for the Woolwich Antiquarian Society, reviewed in this magazine in 1910 [vol. xii, p. 326]. It is a sound and excellent piece of work; the historical account of the abbey is a model of what such an introduction should be. Mr. Clapham's care and skill in conducting the excavations cannot be too highly praised.

Mr. Thomas Garratt, A.R.I.B.A., writes on St. Mary Magdalene's Chapel, Kingston-on-Thames. This article suffers from want of revision for printing; to those who heard it read "the very charming little building in which we are assembled" no doubt conveyed all that was necessary, but to the reader the words are meaningless. Just in the same way, when the hearer of the paper was told to "note" this or that special feature, doubtless he noted it; but what is the unfortunate reader to do, without a single illustration? A somewhat indistinct ground-plan, however, is given, and inset is what appears to be a small plan of the chapel and the domestic buildings belonging to it. This is not referred to in the text, and

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we are left to conjecture whether there is any foundation in fact upon which it is based. We must confess to feeling rather sceptical that there could ever have been, belonging to such a very small foundation as this was, and on a plot of ground which seems to measure about 90 feet by 55 feet (there is no scale to the small plan), two other chapels, St. Ive's and St. Anne's, a master's lodging, a kitchen, a gallery or ambulatory, a barn, a stable, a dovecot, and a hawk's mews!

Mr. Garratt should suppress a tendency to be flippant, which does not improve his writing. For instance, it may be true that the present members of the Corporation of Kingston are "great at dinners," but it seems unnecessary to record the fact in an account of St. Mary Magdalene's Chapel.

Dr. Philip Norman, F.S.A., continues his careful articles on city churches, dealing here with St. Benet's, Paul's Wharf, and Christ Church, Newgate Street. The latter is especially interesting as occupying the site of the choir of the old church of the Gray Friars.

THE HISTORY OF HERTFORD CASTLE, by William Frampton Andrews. Hertford, Stephen Austin and Sons; pp. 56; 6*d*.

The Marquis of Salisbury has recently granted a long lease of Hertford Castle to the Corporation, at a nominal rent, an act of public-spirited munificence that other owners might well copy. Mr. Andrews, the author (or as he modestly calls himself, the compiler) of this excellent little book, is a Borough Alderman, thereby setting another excellent example. The old castle was the scene of many interesting events, which are here duly recited. Two foreign kings were kept prisoners here for some years, David Bruce, of Scotland, captured at the Battle of Neville's Cross in 1346, and John of France, captured at the Battle of Poitiers in 1356. In 1628 Charles I sold the manor and castle of Hertford, the castle being described as "ruinous and dilapidated," to William Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, for £292 6*s*. 8*d*., reserving a yearly rent of £32 15*s*. 1½*d*. Mr. Andrews has used his materials wisely and well. We would suggest, for the benefit of the next edition, that a plan or two should be given, and that the atrocious wood-block of Lord Salisbury's arms should be burnt by the common hangman.

DICKENS'S HONEYMOON AND WHERE HE SPENT IT, by Alex. J. Philip. Chapman and Hall; pp. 48; 1*s*. net.

Mr. Philip gives a pleasantly chatty account of the warfare waged by the Chalkians (or should it be Chalkers?) as to which particular house at Chalk was the one in which Dickens spent his honeymoon. No bloodshed is recorded, and the evidence produced seems to indicate that the right house won the day. The local admirers decided to place an inscription on the real Simon Pure, and Mr. Percy Fitzgerald presented a marble tablet with a bronze mask of the novelist. Judging from the illustration this production is of singularly unpleasing appearance, suggesting an old-fashioned execution, with the severed head held up to view.

240°



Holy Trinity Church, Hounslow, 1837.

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ESTABLISHED 1880.

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NOTICES.

It is particularly requested that all communications for the Editor be addressed to him *by name* at 5, Stone Buildings, Lincoln's Inn, W.C. All communications for the Publishers should be sent direct to them.

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HOUNSLOW AND HOUNSLOW HEATH.

BY D. LOINAZ.

HOUNSLOW lies within the two parishes of Heston and Isleworth, and, in point of population and business, is the centre of the district. At the time when the Domesday Survey was made, Hounslow, then written *Honeslaw*, gave its name to one of the six Hundreds of Middlesex, which was probably identical with the present Hundred of Isleworth, comprising the parishes of Isleworth, Heston, and Twickenham. The name assumes varying forms, *Honeslaw*, as in Domesday, *Hundeslawe*, *Hundeslowe*, *Howndeslowe*, *Hunsloo*, *Hunslow*, *Hounsloe*, and finally, *Hounslow*, its present form.

Aungier (*Syon Monastery*) suggests that the name might be derived from the Saxon *hundes* and might mean "the place where the dogs are kept." Such a derivation, suggestive of the forest and the chase, accords very well with the character of the locality in those far off times, when the whole stretch of country from Staines to Brentford, and from Harmondsworth to Hampton, was one vast forest, dotted here and there with enclosures granted from time to time by royal favour. "From Stanes to Brayneford," writes Camden (*anno* 1586), "all that which lies between the high roade along Hundeslawe and the Thamis was called the forest or warren of Stanes, till Henry III deforested and dewarrened it" in 1217. The glimpse then that is afforded us of Hounslow in those ancient times, if we accept Aungier's derivation, is that of a few foresters' huts placed at some convenient spot in the great forest, and hard by, the more important outbuildings in which the King's hounds were housed. The chosen spot would probably be not too remote from the old Roman highway which, as Camden says, "passes through Brayneford and so over Hundeslawe Heath." But the Domesday form of the name (*Honeslaw*) would seem to be fatal to Aungier's derivation.¹

Early in the 13th century, about 1211, a Priory of Friars

¹ This suggested derivation of Hounslow seems more than usually crude and unconvincing. The fact that in 1086 Hounslow gave its name to the Hundred, provides a clue for the true explanation. *Hund*, genitive

HOUNSLOW AND HOUNSLOW HEATH.

of the Order of Holy Trinity was founded at Hounslow—in all probability the first house of the Order in England. The Order was first instituted in France in 1198 by SS. Jean de Matha and Felix de Valois. King John, about 1214, granted Letters of Protection to the brethren of “the Hospitall of Hundeslawe,” and in 1296 Edward I granted to the Priory the right to hold a weekly market on Tuesdays and a yearly eight days’ fair on the eve, the feast, and the morrow of Holy Trinity, and the five ensuing days. Leland’s *Itinerary* (1542) has the following reference to this Priory: “From Brentford to Hundeslawe is two miles. There was in the west ende of the town an house of the Freres of the Ordre of the Tile of the Trinite;” and Norden (1593) in his *Speculum Britannicæ*, writes, “Hunslow belongeth unto two parishes, the north side of the street (*i.e.* the High Street) to Heston, and the south to Istlewoorth. There is a chappell of ease which belonged unto the fryerie there dissolved, which fryerie after the dissolution was by exchange given to Lord Windsore by King Henry VIII. Afterwards it came to Auditor Roan by purchase, who hath bestowed the same chappell and 40s. per annum upon the inhabitants, to the ende and upon condition that they by further contribution shall maintain a minister there. There is a faire house erected where the friery was, belonging to the heires of Auditor Roan. In the Chappell was buried Sir George Windsor, knight. In that place lie many of the Windsores.”

There were in all about twelve of these Trinitarian or Maturine Friaries in England and Wales. The former name they derived from their dedicating their churches to the Holy Trinity; the latter from their having had their first house near St. Maturine’s Chapel in Paris. Fosbroke’s *British*

hundes, is the Saxon word for hundred; *hlaw* is the Saxon for a small hill, still in use in the alternative forms of law (*e.g.* Berwick Law) and low (*e.g.* Arbor Low). Hundes-law means simply the hill at which the Hundred Court met. These courts in early times generally met in the open air, at some natural or artificial feature of the country, a hill, a tree, a stone, a bridge, a cross, or the like. Assuming, as seems reasonably probable, that the Domesday Hundred of Honeslaw was co-extensive with the modern Hundred of Isleworth, a glance at a map will show that Hounslow is in the most convenient place possible for the three centres of population, the parishes of Isleworth, Heston, and Twickenham. The Tynwald Mount, near Peel, in the Isle of Man, is an example of a hill used from very early times as a public meeting-place; it is probably the only one where the primitive folk-moot is still kept up.—EDITOR.

HOUNSLOW AND HOUNSLOW HEATH.

Monachism gives the following particulars of this Order. "Government by a minister; vow of chastity and poverty; third part of incomings to be devoted to redemption of Christian captives from infidels (referring to the Crusades); all churches to be of plain work, and dedicated to the Trinity; sleep in their cloaths; no featherbeds nor counterpanes, only pillows allowed. . . . No accusation without proof, or the accuser to undergo the punishment the accused had been liable to." All their revenues were divided into three parts—one for their own maintenance, one for the relief of the poor, and one for the ransom of Christians taken captive by infidels.

The Hounslow Trinitarians held land in Bedfont, Heston, Hatton, Harlington, and Uxbridge, in addition to their lands in Hounslow, but they were not a wealthy community. At the time of their suppression (*temp.* Henry VIII) the gross annual valuation of all their holdings was not more than £80 15s., or £74 8s. net. One of their number deserves mention: Robert de Hounslow (died 1430), a native of the place. He was educated at Trinity College, Oxford, and afterwards became a friar of the Order at Hounslow. He appears to have been a man of commanding ability and great zeal, for he was chosen to fill the important office of Provincial of the Order for England, Scotland, and Ireland. Fuller assigns him a place among his "Worthies."

The manor of Hounslow, including the site of the Trinitarian Hospital, was annexed by Henry VIII to the Honour of Hampton Court, and leased in 1539 for a period of twenty-one years to Richard Awnsham, and in 1553 by Edward VI to the Marquis of Northampton for a similar term, upon the expiration of the former lease. The reversion of these properties, consisting of the Hospital, 117 acres of land, with appurtenances, together with the fair, market, court-leet, etc., was sold in 1557 to Lord Windsor for £905, and in 1571 a later Lord Windsor sold the hospital with its appurtenances and the demesne lands to Anthony Roan, the Queen's Auditor, who lived at Hounslow, for £300 (reserving to himself the manor, with the right of holding courts in the great hall of the manor house) and an annual rent of £17. They were, however, repurchased by the fifth Lord Windsor in 1594, and transferred by him, with the manor, to Thomas Crompton. In 1625 the estate was conveyed by Crompton's daughter, Lady Lyttleton, to Justinian Povey; it was sold by the

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Povey family in 1671 to James Smith and Henry Meuse, from whom it passed in the following year to Henry Sayer, in whose family it remained until 1705, when it was purchased by Whitelock Bulstrode of Clifford's Inn, a descendant of John Bulstrode of Upton, Bucks, who lived in the time of Edward II. The Bulstrode Estate was sold in 1818 to Thomas Cane. Lysons, writing in 1795, says that the manor house, "stands at the western extremity of the town and adjoins the Heath;" it "is an ancient brick structure." The grounds of Holy Trinity Church were the site of the old manor house. In 1795, therefore, the Heath extended eastwards up to Holy Trinity, and this part of the town was then the western extremity. Here the town ended, and the Heath began. But to-day the Heath lies a mile or more westward.

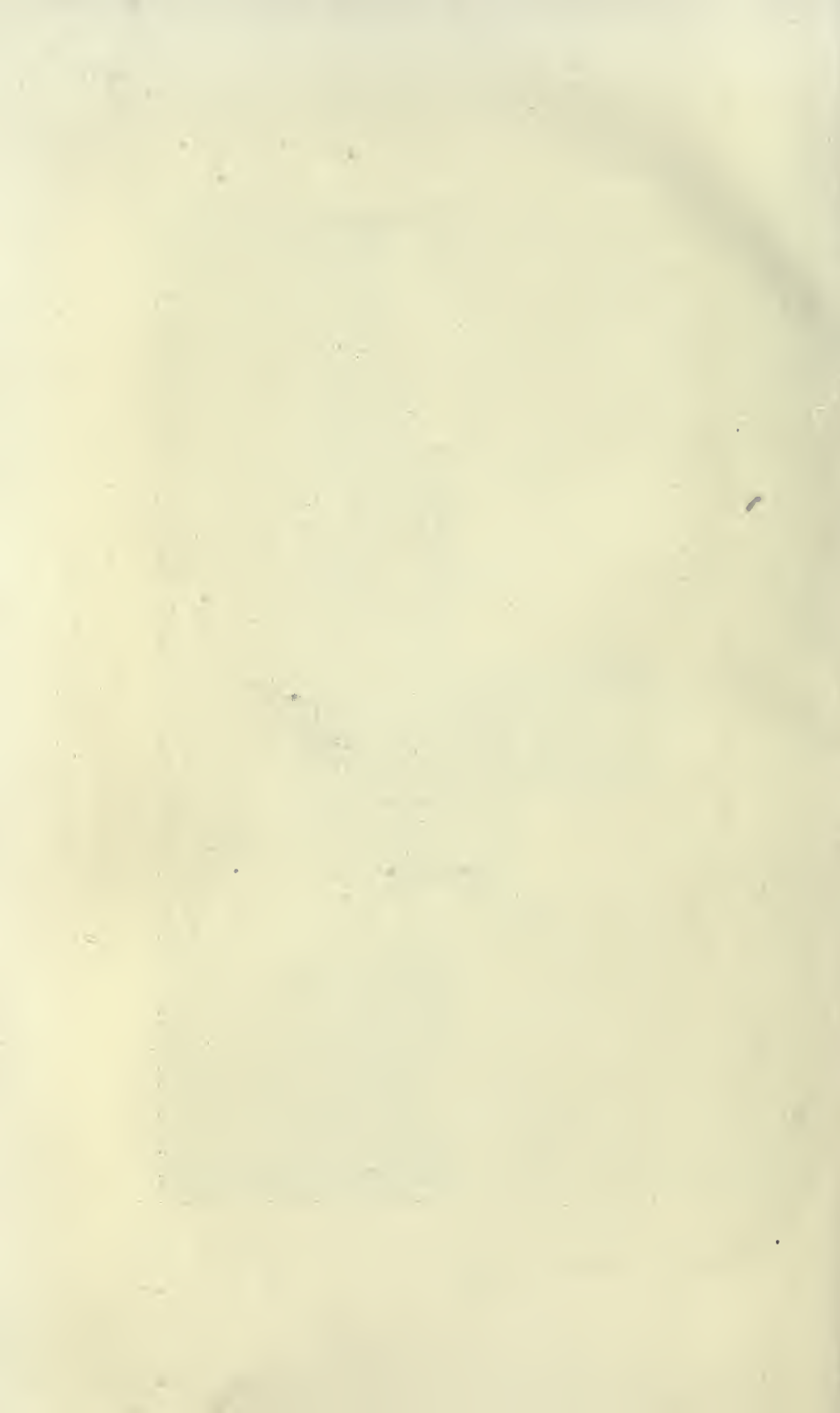
"The second of Henry III," says Stow (*Survey of London*, 1598), "the forest of Middlesex and the Warren of Stanes were disafforested, since which time the suburbs about London hath also mightily increased with buildings." To some extent, no doubt, Hounslow and neighbouring districts shared in this development. The prosperous "Marchant Adventurer" of the City could now build himself a country residence within easy reach of town. Such residences sprang up all around London, not a few in and about Isleworth, and some, though not so many, in Hounslow. But the greater benefit accrued to Hounslow from the fact that the disafforestation not only gave an impetus to the development of the suburbs and brought cultivators upon land hitherto wild, but also that it involved a development of travel and traffic. Situated on the common highway, the prosperity of the place could not but be enhanced by the growth of travel and traffic. In a Parliamentary Survey taken in 1650 it is stated that Hounslow contained 120 houses, most of them being ale-houses and inns. Now, at about this time the use of coaches was rapidly coming more and more into vogue in England. It was no longer generally considered, as it had been, effeminate for men to travel by coach rather than on horseback; the old prejudice was fast dying under the obvious advantages offered by the coach. The coach did for travel in those days what the railway did at a later period: it lessened distances, and increased comfort, and thus facilitated, and hence promoted, travel.

With the growth of travel the prosperity of Hounslow in-



Old Toll-gates at the Bell Inn, Hounslow, 1864.

Photograph by Mayger, Hounslow.



HOUNSLOW AND HOUNSLOW HEATH.

creased. It was a natural halting place for traffic to and from London. It became essentially a posting station, 400 or 500 coaches passing through it daily. By the end of the 18th century it had probably attained its zenith in this respect. "The principal business of the inns consists in providing relays of posthorses and exchanges of horses for the numerous stage-coaches travelling the road. All here wears the face of impatience and expedition. The whole population seems on the wing for removal" (Brewer's *Beauties of England and Wales*, about 1800). What animated scenes must have been witnessed here in those bygone times, particularly on market day (Tuesday), or during the eight days of the annual fair, when the surrounding villages and hamlets would each send its quota to swell the variegated crowds, all bent on fun and bargains! Above the din of sellers and buyers and merry-makers would sound out continually the horns of incoming and outgoing coaches, and at every inn all would be bustle and hurry. At these fairs, the proprietor of the manor levied a toll on all sellers: for every horse 4*d.*, and on every score of sheep 4*d.*; 2*d.* for each cow or calf, and 1*d.* for every pig; 1*d.* from every house selling liquor, and 1*d.* from all shops, stalls, etc., known as the "show-penny." But there was one spot, scarcely more than a stone's throw from the Fair grounds, where the festive gave place to the gruesome. This was at the junction of the Bath and Staines roads. There criminals, brought from London and elsewhere, were gibbeted, for the improvement presumably of the morals of the residents and passers by. The gruesome practice continued till as late as 1800-1808, about which time it was given up in consideration for the feelings of the royal family who used the Bath road on their journeys to and from Windsor.

It was at Hounslow, in 1216 or the year following, that the Conference was held between the partisans of Henry III and those of Louis the Dauphin of France, who had invaded England, Henry having granted safe conduct to the four peers and twenty knights representing Louis.

The Chapel belonging to the ancient Trinitarian Priory existed for generations after the dissolution of the house; indeed, it was standing in part until 1828. It was a small building, according to Lysons (1795), comprising a chancel, nave, and south aisle, and exhibited, at that late date, "obvious traces of early 13th century architecture." The spirit of the Trinitarians, in a measure at any rate, remained

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active long after their time; for we are told by the *Magna Britannia* that twelve boys were taught and clothed here, chiefly out of the offertory at the Sacrament, and that a "two-penny loaf of good bread is also given to every child that comes to Church on Sundays, morning and afternoon."

Beneath the floor of the venerable little church were buried various members of the Windsor family. One of these, Andrews, Lord Windsor, in his will, dated March 26, 1543, orders that his body be buried "in the choir of the Church of the Holy Trinity of Houndslow, whether he deceases within the realm of England or without . . . and to be placed between the pillars where his entire well-beloved wife, Elizabeth, lieth buried. . . . And that, at the day of his interment, there be twenty-four torches and four great tapers about his hearse, to be holden by twenty-eight poor men, every torch weighing sixteen pounds and every taper containing twelve pounds, and every of the poor men (who are to be of the Parish of Stanwell) to have 6*d.* and a gown of frize." (Brydges's *Collins' Peerage*, iii, 667.) There were no vestiges of any monuments of the Windsor family when Lysons wrote (1795), with the exception of a doubtful one.

The chapel was largely destroyed by fire shortly after it had been repaired by Whitelock Bulstrode in 1705. It was restored in 1710. The first curate was John Pight, appointed 1561, who appears to have held the living until 1580, when he was succeeded by Milo Barrow. In 1748 the Rev. Wetenhall Wilkes, M.A., was appointed to Holy Trinity. His reign was brief, as two years later he was preferred to a Lincolnshire rectory. Wilkes wrote and published a poem entitled "Hounslow Heath," a copy of which is to be seen at the British Museum. The effort is more ambitious than successful. Mr. Wilkes may have been an excellent preacher, he was a very indifferent poet. He opens thus:

Hail happy scene, secure from fractious noise,
From pomp, from cares, from all delusive joys,
From all expensive, criminal intrigues,

* * * * *

From levee, court, and drawing-room fatigues.
Where Nature drest in gay disorder shines;
And tempts the muse to sing the rural scenes.

The chapel was purchased by the then Vicar of Heston, the Rev. H. S. Trimmer, and presented by him to the Church

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Society. Shortly afterwards, in 1828, it was demolished, and in June of the same year the foundation stone of the present church, occupying the same site, was laid by the Duke of Northumberland, and the new building was opened for public worship in July of the following year. Of the total cost of about £5,300, His Majesty's Commissioners contributed something over £3,000, the rest being raised by subscription.

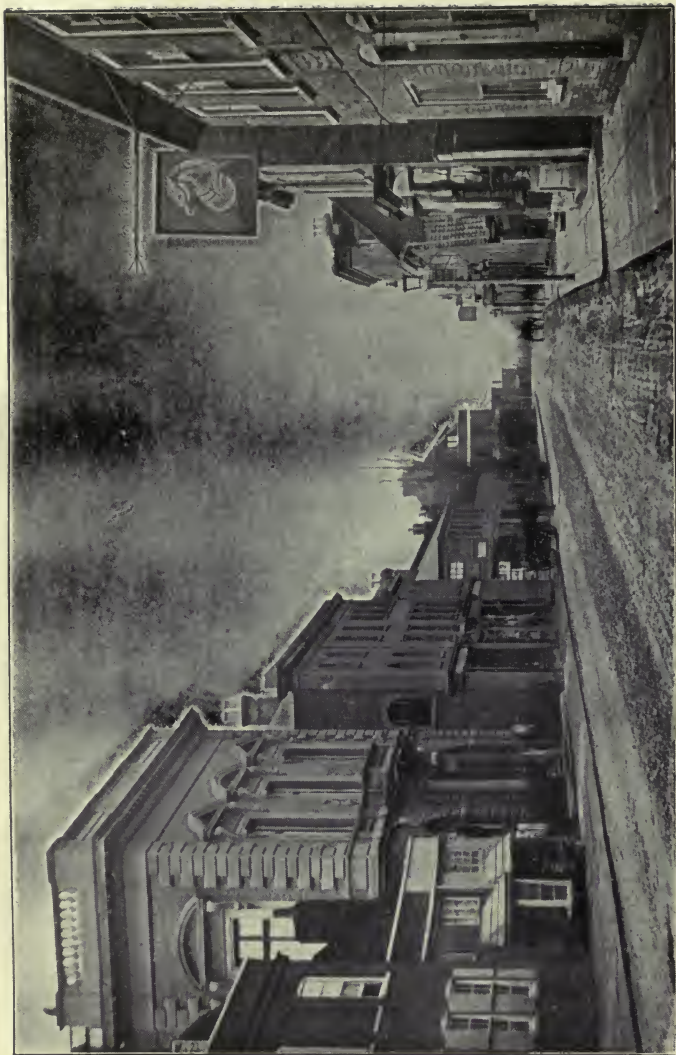
Hounslow Heath, once extending to the pales of Bushey Park and into the parishes of Brentford, Twickenham, Teddington, Harmondsworth, etc., but now diminished to but a few hundred acres, remained for the most part unenclosed long after the disafforesting of the Warren of Staines and the Forest of Middlesex by Henry III, and so late as 1754, when Rocque's map of Middlesex was published, it is stated to have comprised 6,658 acres, and a *Description of the County of Middlesex*, published a few years later, alludes to it as being "very extensive and surrounded by many handsome houses." During the reign of Henry VIII a Bill was framed for enclosing the Heath, and assigning allotments to the inhabitants of the several parishes concerned, but it was not carried into effect. In 1795 the people of Isleworth made an attempt to get it enclosed into small farms, but it was not until 1813 that, by Act of Parliament, the great enclosure took place, when almost every acre then capable of profitable cultivation was enclosed, and the aspect of the country for miles around thereby materially changed.

Aungier (*Syon Monastery*) quotes a curious and amusing pre-Reformation document preserved in the Augmentation Office, relating to a fierce quarrel between parishioners of Isleworth and Heston touching an alleged enclosure by the former parish of "our common." The document is entitled, "The answer of the parisheners of Istyllworth, on contraversies, debats, and stryves to the wronge byll of complaynte made agaynste them by John Bygge, constable of the hundreth and lordship of Istylworth, and the parishioners of Heston, for goynge so in Processyonweke, as hereafter folowith." It was the Monday of Procession Week. The good parishioners of Isleworth depart from the Parish Church, as was their wont, "in Godd's pease and the King's, intending no malyce no gruge agaynste any other parishe, but only to goo with their processyon." For a while all was well with the peaceable and peace-loving processionists; they reached "Babor bryge [on the western side of the Heath], sayde a gspell there, as they

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ever have don of old tyme"; but on the return march, keeping strictly to their "dyche-syde tyll they kam nyghe unto the grete hawthorn standing in the saide heth," their troubles begin. For the fierce parishioners of Heston—Hounslow men for the most part, likely—also processioning, march up. That they are on the warpath is soon evident. A deputation, five or six, no doubt previously appointed for the purpose, step promptly forward and demand of Isleworth's "formoste bannerman, John Browne," that he and his friends shall studiously avoid the ditch-side, to which the stout standard-bearer replies they "wold not," since the ditch is within Isleworth bounds. "With that kam John Bygg and swore an othe: 'Knaves, wold thow not avoyde the waye? Then shalt thow into the dyche.'" Bygg, it appears, was a man of his word. "Into the dyche" went chief-bannerman Browne, with his banner. It was the first shot, the prelude to the battle. Now came forward from the warriors of Heston one Chylde and Dewell, "ryotously blustryng and blowinge like tyraunts and madde men, helping to shulderynge other of the bannermen into the dyche." The battle proceeded furiously, the warlike Hestonians maintaining apparently the advantage all through, until the Vicar of Isleworth, Thomas Yonge, Churchwarden Hew Orton and other "honeste men of Istyllworth, with their cappis in their hands" entreat "in Godd's name and the Kyng's to kepe pease, and to suffer [them] pesably to goo and passe homward to Istyllworth." There are cries of, "Pull Istyllworth crosse, and take away the crosse of Istyllworth from the caytiffs, and a vagons [vengeance] on all the parishe of Istyllworth, wretches and caytiffs of Istyllworth, for they have undon us, to dych in and take in our comyn." But the truce is granted, and they of Isleworth return homewards, much alive to the fact that "there had byn lyke to have made manslaughter," had they "not byn wyser and more dyscrete and sadder than the sayde John Bygge;" etc.

Leland in his *Itinerary* gives us a passing glimpse of the Heath as he makes his way over it one day in the year 1540. "There rennith a Lande water throughout the Hethe as a drene to the hole Hethe, that is of great cumpace, and I passed by a bridge of tymbre over it." Another old-world traveller, Camden, notes in his *Britannia* (first published in 1586), that "on the north end of this Heath, towards King's Arbour, is a Roman camp; a single work, and not large, and another about a mile distant" (Gibson's edition). Stukeley (*Itinerarium*



High Street, Hounslow, 1864.
Photograph by Mayger, Hounslow.

HOUNSLOW AND HOUNSLOW HEATH.

Curiosum) gives a plan of a Roman camp on the Heath, taken on April 18, 1723, and says, "Ceasar's camp on Hounslow Heath is very perfect, 60 paces square. One of his camps is to be seen very fair on Hounslow Heath, in the way to Longford; which I showed to Lord Hertford and to Lord Winchelsea, who measured it and expressed the greatest pleasure at the sight." And according to Lysons (*Middlesex Parishes*, 1800), "A little to the east of Heathrow, on Hounslow Heath, within Harmondsworth Parish, are very perfect remains of an ancient camp, single trenched, about 300 feet square." None of these camp sites, if such they were, is within the area comprised by the Heath to-day.

The Heath was the scene of a magnificent spectacle in 1215, shortly after King John had put his seal to Magna Carta, when a great tournament, arranged by the barons in celebration of their grand achievement, was held there. Originally, Stamford had been chosen, but subsequently it was deemed safer to hold it on Hounslow Heath, because of its proximity to London, the barons' stronghold. John was not to be trusted too far. The prize contended for was a bear, promised by a certain fair lady.

The Heath has been the camping ground of many armies, from the times of the Romans to the present day, when the greater part of it is entirely given up to military purposes. Thus, in 1267, the men of London, under the leadership of Gilbert de Clare, the red Earl of Hertford and Gloucester, encamped here during the campaign against Henry III. Henry moved forward to give his opponents battle, but Gloucester, doubtful of his ability to meet the King's army successfully, retired before its arrival. Immediately after the battle of Brentford between the Royalist and the Parliamentary forces in 1642, Charles's army entrenched itself on the Heath, and later in the year, in November, Essex assembled his forces here. A few years later, on August 3, 1647, Fairfax, at the head of the Parliamentary forces, marched to the Heath, where a grand review was held, attended by the Speakers of both Houses and most of the members. The whole army, numbering 20,000 horse and foot, with artillery, was drawn up in battalions extending to a length of a mile and a half. After the review, the army was quartered in the district.

Charles II had an encampment here in 1678, in respect to which Evelyn says in his *Diary*, under June 29 of the same year:

HOUNSLOW AND HOUNSLOW HEATH.

Returned with my Lord Chamberlain by Hounslow Heath, where we saw the new raised army encamped, designed against France, in pretence at least; but which gave umbrage to Parliament. His Majesty and a world of company were in the field, and the whole army in battalia; a very glorious sight. Now were brought into the service a new sort of soldiers, called Grenadiers, who were dexterous in flinging hand grenados, every one having a pouchfull.

At least on three occasions James II encamped his troops here, the first being in 1686, with 13,000 or 14,000 men, "the best paid, the best equipped, and the most sightly troops in Europe." The object of this encampment was to overawe London, where dissatisfaction with James's doings was fast becoming serious. "The quick growth of discontent . . . would have startled a wise man into prudence, but James prided himself on an obstinacy which never gave way; and a riot which took place in the City was followed by the establishment of a camp of 13,000 men at Hounslow to overawe the capital" (Green's *Short History*). Again in the following year James established a camp here, this time of 16,000 men, and yet again in 1688. It was on this last occasion, when on a visit to the camp, that James was greatly angered and not a little alarmed by hearing his own soldiers loudly acclaiming the news of the acquittal of the Seven Bishops whom he had imprisoned in the Tower of London. In reference to James's encampments, Law, in his *History of Hampton Court Palace*, quotes a satirical sheet of those times, which runs:

Near Hampton Court there lies a Common,
Unknown to neither man nor woman;
The Heath of Hounslow it is styled,
Which never was with blood defiled,
Though it has been of war the seat
Now three campaigns, almost complete.
Here you may see great James the Second
(The greatest of our Kings he's reckoned),
A hero of such high renown,
Whole nations tremble at his frown;
And when he smiles men die away
In transports of excessive joy.

James granted in 1686 to one John Sales, his heirs and assigns, the right of holding a weekly market upon the Heath on Thursdays for ever, and on other days during any encamp-

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ment—a privilege that was exercised down to the early part of the 19th century. Sales subsequently obtained in addition the royal license to hold an annual fair on the Heath every May from the 1st to the 12th.

In Wilkes's poem referred to above, mention is made of the Racecourse, which is indicated on Rocque's map of 1754. It was on the left side of the Staines road, looking westward, within a short distance of the "Bell" public house. The newspapers of the period contain frequent notices of racing events on this course. In George II's time the Heath was a favourite hunting ground of the Royal Family. It was also a favourite hunting ground for a long period with "gentlemen of the road," whom it was the custom, when they were caught, to suspend in mid-air on the scene of their operations and leave there, "their skeletons clanking in chains on windy nights," for the moral improvement of timid travellers! Thus, for example, from a newspaper of 1784, "Yesterday morning the body of Thomas Clarke, who was executed on Wednesday, was conveyed to Hounslow-heath to be hung in chains, with his accomplice Haines." In 1751, a newspaper reports that on "Monday, about noon, the Bishop of Hereford passing over the third Heath of Hounslow in his Coach and Six, was attacked by two highwaymen mounted . . . who robbed his Lordship and his Company off their money, and made hastily off across the Heath toward the Road to Stains." And a similar record of the same year states that "On Tuesday last no less than eleven highwaymen appeared on Hounslow Heath, and robbed several Coaches, Chaises, and Postchaises." In a letter to Sir Horace Mann, under date of October 6, 1774, Walpole says, "Our roads are so infested by highwaymen, that it dangerous stirring out almost by day. Lady Hertford was attacked on Hounslow Heath at three in the afternoon. Dr. Eliot was shot at three days ago, without having resisted; and the day before yesterday we were near losing our Prime Minister, Lord North; the robbers shot at the postillion, and wounded the latter. In short, all the freebooters, that are not in India, have taken to the highway." And Macaulay in his History tells us how in 1698 "On Hounslow Heath a company of horsemen, with masks on their faces, waited for the great people who had been to pay their court to the King (William III) at Windsor. Lord Ossulston escaped with the loss of two horses. The Duke of St. Albans, with the help of his servants, beat off the assailants. His brother, the Duke of

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Northumberland, less strongly guarded, fell into their hands. They succeeded in stopping thirty or forty coaches, and rode off with a great booty in guineas, watches, and jewellery." In 1776 Mr. Northall, Secretary of the Treasury under the administration of Rockingham, was stopped while crossing the Heath, and his money demanded of him; refusing to hand over his money and valuables, he was shot and died shortly afterwards at the inn to which he had been taken. Indeed, endless are the stories on record of the operations which these "gentlemen of the road" carried out with more or less success on the widespreading Heath of the times. It did occasionally happen, however, that the arrested traveller scored, as in the case of Earl Berkeley, when stopped in his coach while crossing the Heath. "Now, my lord, I have you at last; you said you would never yield to a single robber—deliver," said the highwayman. "Then who is that looking over your shoulder?" returned the Earl. As the robber, thrown off his guard, turned to look, the Earl drew his pistol and shot him dead. One of the newspapers of 1770 reports, "On Sunday night a butcher of St. James's Market, on his return to town, was stopped on Hounslow Heath by a single highwayman, who demanded his money, which was given to him; the butcher then took a pistol out of his coat pocket and shot the highwayman dead."¹

THE LONDON POLICEMAN.

BY CLAUD W. MULLINS.

THE London policeman is well known all over the world. He is the pride of the Londoner and the good friend of every visitor to the metropolis. In no city is the fairness of the law so happily combined with dignity and popularity; it would be hard to find a city where the police are so popular among the whole community and where the law-abiding citizen has so little to fear and so much to respect in the guardians of law and order. But Londoners are so used to their police that they have long ago forgotten

¹ The author is indebted to Messrs. Thomason, Ltd., the proprietors of the *Middlesex Chronicle*, for the loan of the blocks; the photographs are by Mr. Mayger of Hounslow.

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that a century past it could be written with justice that "Police in this country may be considered as a new science." To-day it seems strange to read that not many generations ago the regular establishment of the London Police on a permanent basis aroused a sincere fear that the liberty of the citizen was in jeopardy.

Such, however, was the case. The Police Force, as we know it nowadays, is the creation of the last hundred years. The story of its development during previous centuries is full of fascination, but the great difficulty in its narration is to know at what period to begin. One might trace the gradual victory of the national peace over the tribal and local methods of securing law and order. It is of great interest to watch the relation between the personal power and virility of the King and the enforcement of the "King's Peace." It was not until the close of the Wars of the Roses that the monarchs of this country were finally successful in making their power unrivalled in the realm in the maintenance of order. The "Tudor Despotism" did more than anything else to establish a national peace and to suppress disorderly factions. Wearied by civil disorder, the country at the end of the fifteenth century was hungering for a strong central government. And in the following century, though the government retained its strength, its administration was corrupt and inefficient. Officials high and low were venal and the Police Force was no better than the rest of the national organisation. It was badly constituted and incompetent to suppress disorder. Under the iron *régime* of Cromwell order was re-established and the administration was reformed on strictly military lines, but, as soon as the Protector was dead, the anti-puritan reaction set in and disorder was rife once more.

Towards the end of the 17th century the national conscience began to be stirred. The general condition of the towns was causing serious anxiety. In 1685 it was enacted that every tenth house in London should display a lantern at night in order to light the street, and other measures were taken to increase the safety of the citizen and improve the sanitary conditions of London; but it was not till well on in the 18th century that serious and effective steps were taken to improve the condition of the Police Force and the administration of justice.

And here must be chronicled a movement which exercised a vast influence on subsequent reforms of the police.

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Down to the middle of the 18th century the administration of the laws was left almost entirely in the hands of unpaid magistrates, and there is no doubt that many of these men secured remuneration for their services by disreputable means. The only police station existing in London, outside the City, was at Bow Street, and it was from Bow Street that emanated a profound revolution in police administration.

In 1749 there was appointed as magistrate at Bow Street a man who is better known to-day in the realm of literature than as a reformer of the London police. Henry Fielding, "the Father of the English novel," spent the latter portion of his life in forcing on the attention of the government and of the public the disgraceful condition under which the laws were being administered. At Bow Street, Fielding organized a well-paid force of specially selected men known as the "Bow Street Foot Patrol." This early police organization has come down to us by the more familiar name of the "Bow Street Runners;" it formed the nucleus of the Metropolitan Police, and the example for nearly every large town. The system was an immediate success, and Bow Street was the only court where justice could be promptly and impartially administered. The attempt at re-organization, of which Bow Street was the centre, did not affect the City of London, for inside the boundary of the City the police were under the sole control of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen.

But the initial stages of reform were very slow. The end of the 18th century, indeed, showed signs of a moral awakening, but it was nevertheless an age of crime and of disorder. The "No-Popery" riots of 1780, led by the fanatical agitator Lord George Gordon, resulted in London, despite its new police, being left for several days to pillage and plunder; a graphic account of the riots is given by Charles Dickens in *Barnaby Rudge*. The penalties exacted for even the slightest offences were enormous. Death was the customary fate of those convicted of crime, and to this a forfeiture of all property was usually added. Justice was frequently denied because the courts were often unwilling to give a verdict which would demand so severe a penalty. This clemency may have been prompted by feelings of humanity or by a natural sympathy with the criminal due to a guilty conscience on the part of the jury.

A famous case has come down to us as an example. On a man being summoned for shooting a pheasant on private

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property, the court, to avoid the severe penalties resulting from conviction, accepted his plea that his gun was only loaded with a blank cartridge, and that the pheasant died of fright!

The new machinery set up by Fielding soon became the object of the bitterest attacks. It was denounced as the "revocation of the darling and essential privileges of free-born Englishmen;" liberty was said to be at an end, and the result prophesied was "the British lion ingloriously slumbering in the net of captivity." But the Bow Street system became too deep-rooted for any such attacks to prove dangerous, though it was a long time before the ideals and intentions of its founders were realized. In 1792 an Act of Parliament was passed creating seven additional police offices. To each of these were attached three magistrates who received an annual salary of £400, and who were given powers to try summarily a number of offences against public order, and to train constables in their duties.

The science of police administration was making rapid strides, but nevertheless, the carrying into practice of the new theories was the work of many decades. In spite of the new organizations, the police in general were utterly inefficient. The men constituting the nightly watch were usually aged and often infirm; they were ill-paid, and were thus under the severe temptation of supplementing their wages by connivance at crime; they were only on duty from dusk to midnight; their numbers were inadequate, and they were controlled by a series of independent authorities who made no attempt to act together. There were numerous inquiries instituted by the House of Commons, and though the need for drastic and comprehensive reforms was generally recognized, it was a long time before action was taken. It was found that the worst classes of criminals were well-organized, whereas there was practically no co-operation between the police forces of the various towns.

But it became increasingly evident that London required something more than the piece-meal reforms hitherto attempted. Great was the necessity, and the necessity produced the man to grapple with it. Urged on by the work of Fielding, of Jeremy Bentham, and others, and profoundly impressed by the findings of the numerous Parliamentary inquiries, Sir Robert Peel, at that time Home Secretary, resolved to have done with petty reforms and to institute a new system

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which should establish the Police of London and the neighbourhood on a sound and modern footing.

The enormous and immediate success of Peel's work was in no small measure due to his marvellous powers of withstanding the temptation to do at once more than was humanly possible. He had the whole problem in his mind, and his scheme was conceived so as to be capable of finally embracing the whole; but Peel commenced his re-organization in a small area of central and west London, and so extended it by degrees as to include (with the exception of the City) every parish within fifteen miles of Charing Cross. This boundary included an area of practically 700 square miles, and constitutes the Metropolitan Police area to this day.

Since 1829 many Parliamentary Committees have considered the position of the Metropolitan Police, and further laws have been passed, but the underlying principles of the police organization of to-day are those of Sir Robert Peel.

By the Act of 1829 the whole police establishment was placed under the general supervision of the Home Secretary, and the organization and discipline of the force were placed in the hands of two commissioners, the finances of the force being laid under the control of a specially-appointed "Receiver." The headquarters of the new Metropolitan Police were moved to Westminster, and have been known ever since as "Scotland Yard." From this centre the whole Force was to be and has since been directed, and Scotland Yard has now earned a world-wide repute. The reforms of 1829 naturally necessitated the increase of the force by large numbers of new men, and it was a principle of the new organization that no man should be a constable without previously undergoing a special training. On the other hand, numerous constables had to be dismissed, as it was impossible to instil modern ideas into men who had been steeped all their lives in the old methods. The new police area was divided into seventeen "divisions," each division into eight "sections," and each section into eight "beats." The staff were classified into grades, and in 1830 consisted of 17 superintendents, 68 inspectors, 326 sergeants, and 2,906 constables, making in all 3,317 men, besides the two commissioners.

Seeing how far-reaching and how revolutionary were the reforms introduced by the Act of 1829, it is hardly surprising that the opposition encountered was proportionately bitter. Just as the coming of the "Bow Street Runners" had been

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decried as the final onslaught on the people's liberty, so the organization of a really efficient Police Force in 1829 was considered by many to be a dangerous attempt to restrict the freedom of the citizen. And this feeling against Peel's reforms was not confined to one demonstrative class; there was a genuine fear on the part of numbers of reasonable men of all classes that their privileges and liberty were in jeopardy. For this was a time when the populace was peculiarly jealous of its newly-won liberties. The remembrance of the French Revolution was still keen, and it appeared to many that such a force as the Metropolitan Police could only work to control, if not to check, the liberties of the people. Besides, the popular mind was disturbed by the military aspect of the new Police Force. Whenever a large number of men are organized to carry out a common work, strict discipline is essential, and discipline always savours of military practice. And we must remember that throughout English history the continuous dread of military aggression is a standing feature. The reforms of Peel doubtless showed many signs of military influence, but that was essential, for the old police had failed by the very reason of their lack of organization and discipline. But so great was the popular fear of the police that every man in the force was originally disfranchised, and it was only in 1887 that public opinion was prepared to allow the removal of this disability.

Thirty years after Peel's scheme, the number of men in the force had more than doubled. In 1890 the authorized strength was 15,264; in 1908 it was 18,167, and the annual wages bill for the force amounted to over one and a half millions sterling. In 1908 the population in the Metropolitan Police area was well over six and a half millions, whereas it is estimated that in 1829 it was only about 1,200,000. In 1856 the two Commissioners were replaced by one Commissioner with two Assistant Commissioners under him, and this plan has been continued to the present time.

During all the centuries of history the City of London has retained its governmental independence of surrounding parts of London, and its police organization has never been amalgamated with the Metropolitan Force. History has revealed the fact that Sir Robert Peel desired, when introducing his great reforms in 1829, to include the City within their compass, but that he was in awe of attacking its rights and ancient privileges. Before the reforms of Peel the City Police were

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in a better condition than the Metropolitan Force, but after the changes of 1829 the City organization was greatly inferior to Peel's force. The City authorities wisely saw that they could only hope to retain their independence by bringing their force up to the level of the Metropolitan Police. In 1839, therefore, a radical re-organization took place. To-day the strength of City force is about 1,100 men.

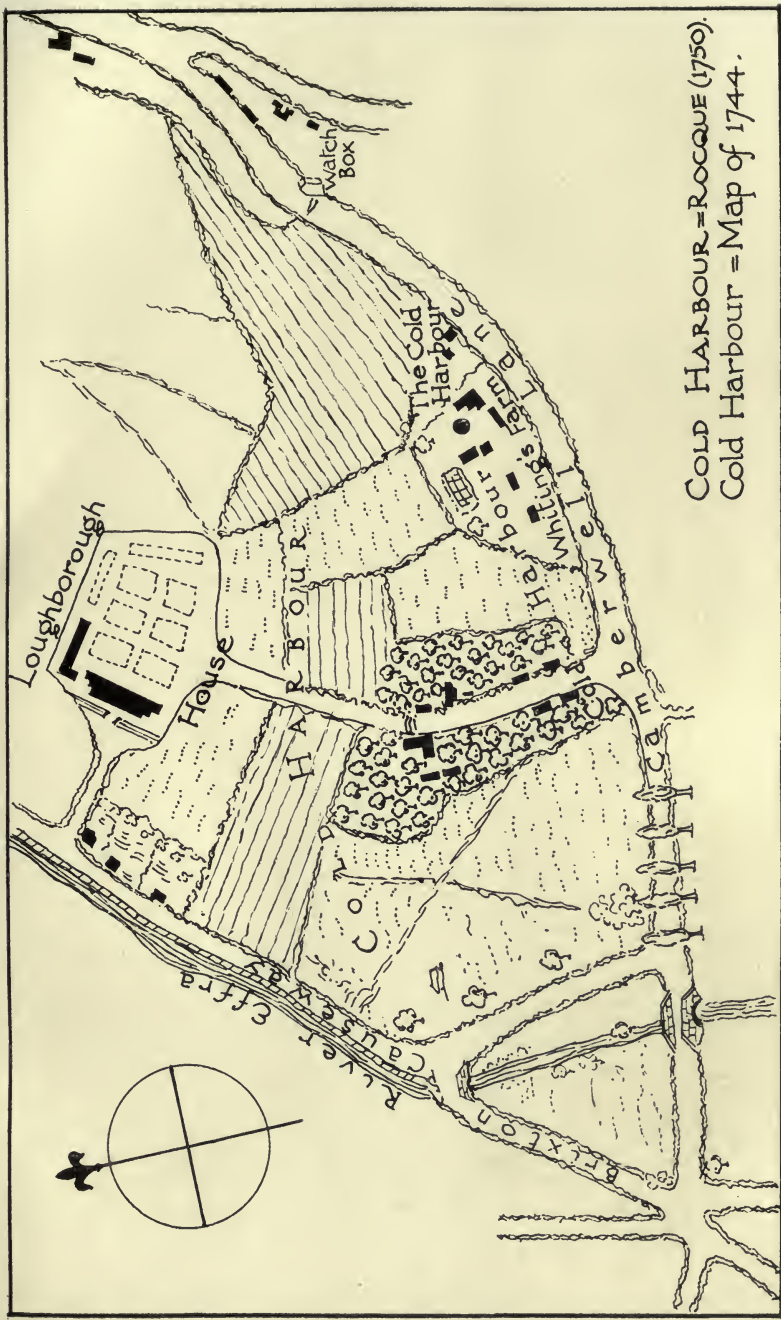
This separation of the Metropolitan and City Forces may perhaps on strict grounds of economy be considered wasteful and unnecessary, but it is the result of London's development. There can be no doubt that the existence side by side of the two forces, the great and the small, does produce a healthy spirit of rivalry, and this is in no small measure the cause of that efficiency which is so marked a characteristic of both organizations.

SOME COLD HARBOURS: and what has become of them. II: CAMBERWELL AND HATCHAM.

By R. A. H. UNTHANK.

IN a nook of the central local library there hangs an odd little crayon drawing of "The Cold Harbour, Camberwell." It represents the bygone hostel at a day when highwaymen abounded in the green cover of Camberwell Lane, and its hospitable door offered a welcome retreat to the traveller from the cut-purse whose coolness and audacity knew no bounds. The drawing is *odd* because the artist has left us—saving his limitations, whatever they may have been—to contemplate only two long outside chimney shafts and a tiny upstairs window as seen from the end of the house, instead of a useful or artistic view of the whole.

The cold harbours now listed—although we can scarcely say complete, for fresh ones are constantly occurring—amount to more than a hundred and sixty, exclusive of cold cots and places of similar denomination, which if definitely shown to have boasted a house of cold cheer, would raise the number to upwards of two hundred. An analysis of our list shows the largest proportion amongst the Weald, as for instance,



COLD HARBOUR = ROCQUE (1750).
Cold Harbour = Map of 1744.

A Composite Plan of the Manor of Cold Harbour, Camberwell.

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thirty in Kent and ten each in Surrey and Sussex; strong evidence, some argue, that the cold harbours were connected with the fuel-making industry. The contention at first sight seems fair enough to win one's assent, fortified as it is by another dense group occurring in the forest of Dean; yet when the pros and cons of the case are weighed the inference turns out less plausible. Another, of many fond speculations, that cold harbours were Köln harbours corruptly called, we may overlook, since we hope to establish unequivocally their history by circumstantial rather than by presumptive or co-incidental evidence.

The opinion advanced in our previous paper that cold harbours were of Saxon engrafting upon a similar institution planted by the Romans, is, we find, endorsed by the writers (Messrs. Forbes and Burmester) of *Our Roman Highways*.

"The appearance," say they, "of such names as Cold Harbour and the termination of a place-name in -cote, is believed to be a sure indication of the use in comparatively modern times of Roman buildings for purposes of temporary shelters, and the occasional discovery of tessellated pavements, evidently injured by fires lighted in the corners of rooms, suggests the utilization by wayfarers or peasants of Roman ruins for purposes of temporary shelter at periods far removed from the original abandonment of these dwellings."

Even before the migration to British shores, we have it on the authority of Green, that the character of the Saxon life "was already touched by the civilization with which Rome was slowly transforming the barbaric world. Even in their German homeland, though its border nowhere lay along the border of the Empire, Saxon and Engle were far from being strange to the arts and culture of Rome." It would not be unlikely, then, if the new possessors of Southern Britain imitated in some measure the Roman custom of travel. But there is no evidence that the Saxons ever had a posting-system, and it was not till after the Norman dynasty had died out, a dynasty which for political reasons discouraged the custom of intercourse and travel, that any approach to a system of posting was conceived.

The date or even the approximate period at which cold harbours were given their peculiar name is difficult to decide: Saxon statutes do not mention them nor, in fact, is there any written record of them before the Middle English period

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approached. As early as Wihtred of Kent and Ine of Wessex there were laws to guard the safety of the stranger, but none that related to his night's lodgment. For instance "if any stranger approached a township off the highway without shouting or sounding a horn to announce his coming, he might be slain as a thief and his relatives have no redress." A bell attached to his dog's or ox's neck, sounding at every step, was later regarded to serve the same purpose. On safe arrival at his day's journey's end the wayfarer's thanks were due to Woden, the guardian of ways and all who traversed them. Again, for the better preservation of the community King Edward the Confessor enacted that if a host entertained a guest, be he trader or other, for as many as three consecutive nights and his guest committed any offence, his host should be held responsible; thus Saxon law regarded, for legal purposes at least, that after a two nights' stay a guest was reckoned as part of the family of his host. Vagrants, however, were only allowed to receive hospitality for one night—a regulation well copied in our modern workhouse system.

Let us consider for a moment the Roman system of travel (*itineraria*). On the great military ways at intervals of from fifteen to twenty miles were the *coloniæ*, in the midst of which stood a *mansio*, or government posting-station. Here it was possible for service officials and influential citizens to hire either horses, gigs, or chariots, or to allow themselves to be cheated perhaps by the tempting legend "Good accommodation for travellers." Presiding over the establishment was a *mansionarius*, a government agent, empowered, or rather bound by his duties, to scrutinize the passports (*diplomata*) of travellers besides attending to their comfort. Between each *colonia* again were lesser posting-stations (*mutationes*) at about equal distances of five miles, affording more limited accommodation than the *mansiones* and frequented by a humbler class of guest. Here again, as in the case of the *mansio*, they were under government control and the managers known as *stratores*. Now the intervals at which the cold harbours on the great lines of road were placed, correspond in a conspicuous number of instances to exactly where we should look for the regularly set *mutatio*; a point that seems to demand a mark of respect for our argument that *mutationes* returned to usefulness again in the shape of the problematical cold harbour.

Quite a number of these places, it is worthy of remark, stood on by-ways at an almost exact mile's distance from the

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main road; the reason for such a sequestered situation is not easy to guess when the general design was to establish them at the passages of greatest traffic. As a rule they will be found at water-crossings, whether ford or ferry, at the *diverticula*, or junctions of the great roads, and often again on the top of high wind-swept ridges whence they might scatter farther and farther beams of cheer to the weary plodder on the road—unless, far more likely, the Romans had in choosing the site a much more practical object in view. Mr. John Ward, F.S.A., who praises the Romans' "magnificent system of roads and posting-stations," says¹ that as the natives became Romanized and the garrisons withdrawn, "the vacated *castella* remained abandoned or continued as posting-stations." A new arrangement like this would tend to disorder their arithmetical precision of distance, and Saxons, or English, who later erected by rule of need, still further helped to efface the original regularity of design.

The little ruinous *mutatio* standing by the wayside, deserted by its *strator* who had withdrawn again with his kinsmen and the legions to Rome, long centuries after presented to the Saxon settler a conspicuous object in several shires, after which to name his settlement, "cold cot," but—mark the point—in not one single instance did he give his hamlet the appellation of "Cold harbour."² It was the manors and the farms which the English in very many instances so recognized.

The term *harbour* is derived from a Teutonic source, *heri* and *beorg*, meaning "shelter for a host:" Low Latin adopted it as a sort of synonym for *castra*, that is to say, a collection of tents, *heriberga*. As the word became familiar to the English tongue, secondary meanings and applications were drawn from it, whence it was used for "any kind of inn." "They who stand in the palaces of kings, to serve them, or perform any office for them," says Du Cange, "are said to do *Herbergerie*." Anglo-Norman kings by *droit d'auberge* had the right to quarter soldiers, servants, and agents, wherever they listed; the religious houses particularly had cause to bewail the prerogative, while often, too, they were obliged to find a permanent asylum for the many superannuated servants of the sovereign. One or two instances in this connection which seem appropriate to mention, occurred in the

¹ *Roman Era in Britain; Romano-British Buildings and Earthworks.*

² The parish of Coldharbour, near Dorking, and the only one in the country to bear the name, was constituted and named in 1842.

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reign of Edward III. John de la Herbergerie, "who has long and gratefully served the king," was recommended to the Abbat and Convent of Croyland "to receive maintenance," while his companion, Gilbert, was grudgingly taken in at the Abbey of Pershore. The allusions naturally make us wonder what department of the King's hostel—to give the King's household its ancient title—the Herbergerie represented: let us call it the wardenship of the stables, or perhaps better, the Mastery of the Horse. The duties of the Serjeant Herbergeour were to ride in the King's company, hold the stirrup and carry the horse-cloth, and to prepare a weekly statement of accounts. His pay was four halfpence a day, exclusive of board in the hall, a gallon of ale and 3 candles; two robes yearly in cloth were allowed him to keep him in good appearance, besides horse-liveries and wages for a boy, though he might have the worth of them—46s. 8d.—in coin if he chose. A Valet Herbergeour served under him. In charge of the baggage transport was another Serjeant Herbergeour whose task was to provide sufficient pack and draught horses, to attend to the repairs of carts and carriages, and to render a weekly account of his out-payments. A Valet Herbergeour assisted him also.

Amongst other royal servants who found plenty to do in the incessant royal itineraries of the thirteenth century were the Knights Harbinger of the hall—two knights and two Serjeants Marshal—whose duties were to arrange decently for the King's bed, see that the rooms were furnished with carpets and benches, and to attend in the hall. The emoluments of these knights were a pitcher of wine, 3 candles and two tortiz (? torches) with extra allowance when sick. The office of Knight Harbinger was continued so late as the early years of Queen Victoria.

In the time of Edward II to each department of the King's hostel there was attached one herberger, from the chaplain and "the butler for the King's mouth and him which serveth the cuppe" down to "the master cokes for the King's mouth," for the ushers of the chamber, for the "fruterer," naperer, ewer, and their "vallets of mistery," for the "squiers attendant" on the King, and in fact for every significant and insignificant officer or servant.

From the inn to the stables, from the stables to the kennel and poultry-yard, *herbergerie* was stretched in its meaning. If poultry were taken by the usher of the larder out of the

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herbergerie "aunswer was to be made every day therefor at the briefs to the clarke of the kitchen."

The precise status of *cold* harbours amongst hostelries in medieval England we can but conjecture, since no statute singles them out for express legislation, while the poets and writers of the time, Chaucer, Gower, Langland, and their contemporaries, do no more than class them with *herberghes* in general. There is just about enough evidence to show that, like their German kindred *kalte Herbergen*, alluded to in our former paper, they provided a bare shelter, and by-and-by cold fare, but at first at least no strong drinks.¹ That they had become quite superseded by inns ere Stow's time we may very well be sure, or the learned old chronicler would not be caught guessing on one page that they had been ports for the receipt of coal, and on another, seeking to explain that Cole Abbey once signified an exposed bight of water, similar to the expression Cold Harbour. "In 1365," says Hazlitt, "the *herbergeour*, subsequently known as innholder, was already a familiar institution," and inns superseded the harbours in the same way that the Frenchman's shirt was an afterthought of the wristband.

Hostellers, victuallers, regrators,² and harbourers all appear in the statutes from time to time,³ but the terms seem to have been used so indifferently and collectively that the King must have looked to the administrators of his law, to interpret it rather by a conscientious construction than by the letter; and yet no doubt the terminology was so exact and complete as to prevent all but the proverbial coach-and-four driving through it. An Act of 9 Edward III makes it compulsory for hostellers in every port to search their guests and if they find them carrying any contraband goods, they are allowed to keep one-quarter of the value of the forfeit. A few years later hostellers and every other class of victualler are enjoined not to charge customers unduly for what they have had, or perhaps for what they have had added to what they are imputed to have had. It would seem, however, that the price of victuals was not abated in obedience to the new law, for a commission was appointed—27 Edward III—to enquire

¹ "*Kalte Herbergen* einfache Unterkunft und kalte Küche bieten, aber keine Taferngewichtigkeit besitzen." A letter from das Münchener Altertumsverein.

² Regrators = "speculators" in foodstuffs.

³ "Hostellers" much more frequently than "harbourers."

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"amongst hostellers, harbingers, and other regrators," into the continued dearth. The finding of the commission, translated into present day English, was that a party of callous speculators had been at work trying to create a "corner."

From the mention of the herbergeours as caterers, it will be noticed that, as is the case with every class of trade, there was a tendency to enlarge their sphere of business, from merely finding a cold roof-covering for their guests, to supplying them with drink and victuals. And again, it was when they made their last advance to the right of selling ale in competition with the inns that the harbours lost their distinctive character.

As to the prefix *cold* in the term *cold harbour* the writer ventures to suggest that it arose in one of two notions, namely that which was *paid* for as against that offered generously and free, as in the case of the hospitality of castles and monasteries; or in that peculiar notion of the Middle Ages which was wont to emphasize the property of a thing according to its moral aspect; "were it," as Chaucer says, "of cold, or hete, or moyst, or drye." Cf. Gower, *Confessio Amantis*:

The fifte signe is Leo hote,
Whos kinde is schape dreie and hote
In whom the Sonne hath herbergeage.

A harbour *from* the cold, that we are satisfied it was not.

It was an unalterable law throughout the Middle Ages that no harbourer or victualler might hold a public office, but the act appointing the keepers of common hostries in any city or borough as auxiliary "searchers" of travellers was repealed by another of 20 Henry VI. And by the same act they were prohibited from keeping wharfs or being factors or attorneys, whereby damage and loss had daily before accrued to the king's customs and subsidies.

To become a herbergeour it was necessary to get sworn before a mayor or bailiff, who in return had the duty of surveying the house, correcting and punishing offenders and those who broke the assize of bread and ale. No alien might keep a herbergerie, but in London, where there were so many of foreign nationality, the law was somewhat relaxed, provided that they did not keep a herbergh on the waterside. Although not freemen of the City, the hostellers were to be "good and sufficient persons and bear, with the freemen, the charges of the City." In the country they appear to have been yeomen,

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or at least to have had a limited number of acres to till. At curfew the door of the hostel, or harbour, was supposed to be shut, and travellers were not, except upon exigent showing, to remain under the same roof more than one night and one day. The patrons of these places were mainly the middle classes who had not the claims to hospitality on the monasteries which the nobles and poor wayfarers had—the one by reason of their influence and benefactions, the other by the prescriptive right of being “Goddess poore men.” Beds were procurable at about a penny per head, but a private chamber or even a cubicle was not to be hired at any price.

Adulterated and inferior feed for pack-beasts was guarded against by the bakers being charged with the making of horse-bread,¹ “the assize thereof to be kept,” showing plainly the honesty of hostellers to be not altogether above suspicion. Infraction of the statute was visited with a penalty proportionate to three times the value of the horse-bread illicitly baked in the hosteller’s ovens. Nor were the gains of this much legislated man, on oats and hay allowed to exceed by more than one halfpenny per bushel the common market price, unless he wished to lay himself open to a fine reckoned at “quatreble” his illegitimate profit. Such were the laws, or some of the principal, framed to protect the traveller from tricky or rapacious hosts in days before cold harbours had entirely yielded to the fully licensed inns kept by the manor stewards and others. Ale, by-the-bye, was not to be sold except to *bona fide* travellers so that local habitués were driven to the inns and alehouses for their nightly draught.

Like all other trades and crafts of the Middle Ages the Harbourers had their mystery, or guild, placed under the tutelage of a saint. Their charter of reconstitution as the Company of Innholders, in the reign of Henry VIII, reveals their protector as St. Julian “le Herberger.” St. Julian was martyred at Antinopolis in Egypt, in A.D. 313, where he had piously received and cared for all sick people in his lodging as though in a free hospital: he was surnamed the Hospitalarian and his feast-day observed on 9th January. Chaucer refers to him in the *House of Fame* (I. 514)

Seynt Julyane loo bon hostele
Se her the house of Fame lo.

¹ A cake composed of beans, bran and similar horse-esculents, still used in some parts of Europe.

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And again, in the prologue to the *Canterbury Tales*:

An househaldere, and that a gret, was he;
Seynt Julian he was in his countré.
His breed, his ale, was alway after oon;
A bettre envynéd man was nowher noon.

And yet the Host swears "by Saint Ronyon!"

The trade of keeping harbour stamped those engaged in the business with a surname, just as other trades have done, and it is nothing uncommon to meet with John le Herberger of this, and William le Herberger of that place in the Patent and Close Rolls: their present descendants are perhaps Harpers, with more of the warm blood of hospitality in their veins than the children of the medieval musician can boast.

At the time of the Norman Conquest Camberwell comprised all one great manor. But as sovereigns and centuries came and went and occasion required, the manor became parcelled out into several smaller lordships, upon two of which the name of Cold Harbour was conflictingly bestowed. To Robert de Melhent, an illegitimate son of Henry I, the manor of Camberwell (including the Cold Harbour portions) was originally granted, whose heirs and assigns remained in possession and enjoyment of it till the attain of the Duke of Buckingham in 1521. In 1263 (the first individual mention of the terrain in which we are interested), the Earl of Gloucester, Gilbert de Clare, died seised of various tenements in Camberwell, amongst them a quarter of a knight's fee, valued at 40 shillings, situate at Cold Herbergh, Hachesham, then held of him by William Vaghan. The precise boundaries of it are not known to-day, but the position of it lies amongst that once famous area of market gardens now traversed by the network of railway metals about New Cross. In early 19th century maps Cold Blow Farm was the diminished representative, but even that shadow has now become, in the words of Besant, "gradually hemmed in and spoiled, and all that remains of the homestead is some very tumble-down outbuildings surrounding a miserable house. The fields are still in cultivation, and to the south are allotments worked by the railwaymen. Under and across the network of railway lines Cold Blow Lane winds past patches of garden, often through deep mud, to the Monson Road, in which there is a large Board School."¹ The Millwall

¹ Sir W. Besant's *London South of the Thames*.

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Football Club has, we believe, absorbed even this last vestige of the farm since Besant prepared his survey.

One hundred years later William Vaghan's descendant was the sub-tenant, and the escheat roll now distinctly calls the tenement a manor. It was held by Sir Thomas Vaghan, "part of which, a messuage, value 2s. per annum, and nine acres of land, value 4s. 6d., being held of the King as of his manor of Hachesham, and which was granted to the King by Roger Bavent, by service of 14d. paid at the said Manor of Cold Herbergh, of the Earl of Stafford by knight's service and suit of Court of Camberwell, leaving Haimo Vaghan, his son and heir, aged one year.¹ By the heir's minority two-third parts of the first-mentioned premises were seized into the King's hands, the other third being assigned to Sir Thomas's widow, Alice, for her dower.² By what contingency the manor came into the hands of its next owner, we know not, but a will³ of 1407 reveals that William Creswyk, a citizen and freeman of London, had possession of it, and desired his feoffees to convey a life estate in the same to Alice, the wife of John North, his kinsman, with remainder to John Wodehouse, clerk, another kinsman, in tail, with remainders over. The manor, in this instance, was styled, "Coldabbeye, county Surrey." Of Creswyk's biography we are ignorant, further than that he appears to have been a man of substance. He does not seem to have risen to the Lord Mayor's chair, nor yet to have held any public office; nor is his memory locally perpetuated.

Efforts were made in the 15th century to deforest the thick woods of the estate which had covered the vicinity from time immemorial, a small but valued record certifying us of a fall of several hundred loads of timber.

Again, eighty-five years have elapsed since Creswyk's enjoyment of the manor, and now we find it occupied by one Richard Skynner of Peckham, an esquire whose armorial bearings were *sanguine*, 3 cross-bows erect *or*. His will is the secret of our enlightenment, made and written by the hand of John Skynner, his brother, the last day of December, 1492. Therein he devises to his son Michael "all his interest in the Manor and Land called Cold Abbey in Peckham, Camberwell, and Deptford, or in the Purparty of Christopher Middleton

¹ Inq. p.m., 36 Ed. III, no. 64.

² Inq. p.m., 40 Ed. III, no. 40.

³ Calendar of Wills of Court of Hustings, II, 370.

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therein. Skynner's eldest son William was dead, so that Michael was also to inherit all his father's other land and tenements (not indicated where) upon the decease of his mother, Agnes, save an annual payment of five marks to the widow of his brother William.

Incidentally, a curious error occurs on Skynner's tombstone, the careless graver informing us that he died in 1407, that is to say, eighty-five years before he made his will, and ninety-two years before the death of his wife—or widow! No stronger proof is wanted that he was inhabiting the mortal coil in 1467, than the fact that he was bound in recognisances to his tailor for £100: a most unquestionable sign of vitality! Dame Skynner died in 1499,¹ predeceased by her sons William and Michael in the year 1497 and '98 respectively, both of whom died issueless. The family tomb was to be found before the devastating fire of 1841 against the south wall of the chancel of Camberwell church; inlaid brass plates depicted Skynner and his wife both in devout attitudes, surrounded by ten children, out of which number only four lived to majority. The deaths of the sons left their two surviving sisters co-heiresses to the estate. Agnes died unwedded, and Elizabeth's portion was consequently doubled.

The latter married John Scott, the eldest son of a family of good condition, which had been considerable landholders in the parish since the reign of Henry V, if not before. In 1521 the Duke of Buckingham, the tenant-in-chief of the manor of Camberwell, was attainted, upon which event Henry VIII granted it to this John Scott, who had been the Duke's principal tenant. Elizabeth Skinner's match had been obviously a good one, for besides becoming lord of the extensive manor, her husband was appointed third Baron of the Exchequer in 1529 and Sheriff of Surrey in 1548. He died in 1553 and his ashes were interred in the parish church beneath a handsome monument which, like the Skinner's, also suffered in the before-mentioned fire.

The eldest born of their union was a second John, who, for complicity in the riots of Lords Ogle and Howard, had to answer for his action before the dreaded Court of Star Chamber, but apparently escaped its penalties. His wife—the first of three by the way—of whom he may first have become enamoured by a chance meeting in the shady lanes of his

¹ Thornbury says 1515—a mistake for her daughter Agnes.

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father's estate, was Elizabeth, the daughter of one William Robbyns, a merchant of the Staple at Calais. Robbyns's arms were per pale silver and azure, a fess nebuly between 3 birds counterchanged. Ere the secret was broached to their elders many clandestine trystings may have taken place. Robbyns cared little about the matrimonial engagement, fearing, like Laertes of Hamlet, the young 'squire's advances were but—

A violet in the youth of primy nature,
Forward, not permanent; sweet, not lasting,
The perfume and suppliance of a minute—
No more!

Scott would have chosen a daughter-in-law from the Court, but with the prospect of a sufficient dowry he was reconciled, and the happy pair were joined by the priest. The dowry—such an indispensable adjunct to the marriages of those times—is described as “the moyte of the Manor of Cold Abbey held by Henry Bassenden with John Baker and others.”¹

“Linked in happy nuptial league” their marriage was blessed with six sons and some daughters, the eldest son being named after his father, but whom he failed to outlive. To Richard, the eldest surviving son, was allotted a moiety, of the value of £5, of the manor of (according to Manning and Bray) the other Cold Abbey on the western bounds of the parish, and abutting on what we now know as Cold Harbour Lane. It was held of Ralph Muschamp, member of another locally influential family, as of John Scott's moiety the Manor of Camberwell; but unless Richard was put in possession of it before his father's death he could have enjoyed the estate but two years; and his son died a month after him.

John Scott's capital Manor of Camberwell, sometimes called Camberwell Buckingham's, after the attainted Duke, was split up into a quintipartite apportionment amongst his five surviving sons, besides Richard, who was otherwise provided for, upon his decease. Richard Scott's Cold Abbey moiety reverted to his next brother Edward, who, dying without issue, relinquished both it, and his fifth, to his next brother, William, from whom it all passed in 1588 to Robert, his son, when direct entail again ended. Bartholomew, Robert's father's brother, was his heir, and claimed the

¹ Schedule, dated 1519, in *Calendar of Surrey Deeds*, deposited in Minet Library, Camberwell.

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inheritance to add to his own fifth, thus making three "fifths," and the Cold Abbey moiety. Thrice was he married and thrice disappointed of offspring—his first wife was no other than Archbishop Cranmer's widow ; the property therefore fell to Sir Peter, the eldest son of Acton, the fourth brother, who naturally now had some good broad acres, when the reversion was ringed in with his own patrimony.

Remainders were left, amongst others, to John and Edgar, Sir Peter's half-brothers, and to Ralph Baker, son of testator's nephew, Richard Baker. The Bakers here mentioned were probably, though there is no link to establish the surmise as conclusive, the descendants of that John Baker, who, it will be recollected, was a tenant on Elizabeth Robbyns's Cold Abbey jointure in 1519. If so, it would seem that it was one of the second John Scott's daughters who had wedded Richard Baker, and so connected the families.

From this time onwards we lose all trace of mention of the Cold Abbey manor ; the bulk of the estate passed down to Sir Peter's son John in 1622, and down again to his son Peter, who was appointed a canon of Windsor, and had a family of four sons and three daughters. In this generation the property got broken up and alienated, and entirely lost the character of an ancestral domain.

The feudal system was gone out of mind. Many medieval customs—courts of business and of pleasure, ales, assizes, feasts,—which demanded the presence of the lord of the manor or his steward, or whose participation joyed the hearts of tenantry and servants, and thereby stimulated feelings of respect and goodwill the one toward the other, were necessarily vanished under the multiplication of freeholders and the new spirit of the times. The lord of the manor had long ceased to be the proprietor of the inns on his estate. The observance of patronal festivals again, with all the picturesque, if questionably laudable and honest religious traffic connected with the tide, had been banned by the Reformation, and was now changed from *feria* into a secular *fair*.

When the first John Scott was granted his manor by King Henry the Eighth, it is quite conceivable that on the feast of Saint Giles a goodly concourse of strangers was attracted to Camberwell ; cripples and beggars, afflicted, rogues, and needy, wending their way by many roads to the well adjoining the church, some for the sake of obtaining benefit from the restorative virtue of the water, others with the hope of taking

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a liberal shoal of alms, and others again with an even less worthy manner of taking. Let us briefly sketch the excitement and bustle of the occasion. The September afternoon is sultry; Mass has been said in the forenoon; expectant crowds throng the churchyard and line the pathway to the well, where the maimed and halt are gathered. Pacing up and down are tawdry sellers, who with bothering shouts are perseveringly trying to sell their wares; at the church porch lie lazars and "penny-fathers," lazy, or full of sores, extending their dirty palms for receipt of charity. At last the babel quiets, the strains of a Latin litany grow stronger, and in a few moments the solemn procession moves by, crucifix, tapers, incense, and the "great relic" of Saint Giles carried by the monks of Bermondsey, besides a garlanded image of the hermit. Arrived at the well, the service of invocation begins, and ere the priests have done, many crutches are laid aside and palsied limbs suddenly forget the impotency that has long lain upon them. While the procession is a-marshalling to return, the clouds come up dark and lowering and a few big thunderdrops fall threateningly, but what cares anyone of the surging multitude, they are all bent on their devotions, ecstatic, God and His saints are amongst them—and they have earned a plenary indulgence to boot.

Untouched by the leaping fires of Lollardy and Protestantism, Scott's family must often have assisted in the annual observance which centred around the well whose waters were drawn up in full view of the manor-house windows.

The insatiable fondness of the Middle Ages for pilgrimages may well have led to the enactment of such a scene as we have ventured to portray; there is more probability about it than the idleness of fancy when one county boasted seventy such venues alone! Further, it is widely admitted through the revealing flood of etymology that Camberwell must have once boasted a sort of "pool of Bethesda," while the parish being under the tutelage of Saint Giles who was endowed with a special faculty of healing the lame and lepers, another pier is put in to support our visionary stage. And again the considerable duration and importance of the Camberwell pleasure fair of modern times leads us seriously to consider whether it may not well have had its origin in the religious festival of the first of September, when something akin to a Continental *pardon* might have brought an unusual flow of custom to the licensed victuallers of the village.

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It would be tedious and irrelevant to trace the subsequent history of the manor of Camberwell Buckingham, now that the Scotts have parted with it; of what happened to the Hatcham Cold Abbey portion thereof under new proprietors we have not even a hint. In 1825 the London and Croydon Railway began to run through the midst of the estate, to the consequent ruin of the Croydon Canal alongside its metals, as well as to the ousting of the old mail-coach which had rattled along thrice daily for a hundred years to the office at Cold Harbour.

And now to return to the Cold Harbour at Camberwell; the one to which we referred at the commencement of this paper, and the one of which Richard Scott died seised of a moiety. Leigh's map of 1842 distinctly marks the departed hostel on the western side of Cold Harbour Lane, at a spot just east of the present Eastlake Road. A century earlier John Rocque showed us a little manor of Cold Harbour abutting on the Lane—then called Camberwell Lane—and including the Harbour at the manor's northernmost corner. Until 1555 it seems to have been comprised in the Manor of Camberwell and Peckham, in which year a moiety was purchased by John Bowyer, gentleman, of Lincoln's Inn. The Bowyers were strangers to Camberwell, this John, like John Paston of *The Paston Letters*, having been attracted to London by a desire to follow the law. The ancestral home and a long local pedigree were left behind at Chichester.

The divers messuages and lands in Peckham and Cold Abbey which he purchased had belonged eleven years before to Robert Hawkes, when the latter demised them to one Henry Savill of Barroughby, county Lincoln, for thirty years, the term to commence on the death of Gregory Lovell and Ann, his wife, who were life-tenants. But two years after the document was drafted Ann became a widow, removing to Harlington, co. Middlesex. Savill's lease was then ratified by her¹ with an extension to forty years at an annual rent of £15. Yet whilst the lease had thirty-five years unexpired, John Bowyer appeared and bought the residue of Savill's term, making him £40 compensation, less "36s. due on a tenement in the tenure of Richard Stephenson," for the same. Four years later Bowyer acquired the freehold of the property, from Ann

¹ Viz., a capital messuage in Peckham, parish of Camberwell, and a moiety of Cold Abbey, late in tenure of William Wilson, and the late Richard Hill.

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Lovell and Ann Hawkes, widows, who however, say Manning and Bray, "suffered a Recovery in Easter term of 6 messuages, 6 cottages, 6 gardens, 6 orchards, 100 acres of land, 40 of meadow, 100 of pasture and 10 of wood in Camberwell." It seems as though the Cold Abbey estate at this time comprised a mansion-house, two barns, a stable, garden, orchard and divers lands, and adjoined the property of the newly created Baron Loughborough.

The mansion-house was doubtless the residence of either Richard Scott or the Bowyers, more probably the latter, until after their purchase of Edgar Scott's (2nd John Scott's youngest legatee) fifth of the manor of Camberwell, when Sir Edmond Bowyer—John's heir—built a capital mansion on the western side of Camberwell Road, just north of the present Emmanuel Church. The new house, which Evelyn called a "melancholie seate," has been swept away many years since by the viaduct of the railway line, but the memory of it is yet recalled in the poverty-inhabited terraces of Mansion House Street and Mansion House Square, which the London County Council are about to rename Hester Square, after the wife of a second Sir Edmond Bowyer, who died in 1665.

In endeavouring to trace the bounds of the manor of Cold Harbour, early 19th century maps showed us that the manor had become broken up into several small parcels of which Sir William East, baronet, of Hall Place, Berkshire, and owner of the neighbouring manor of Basing, the last lineal descendant of a family well known in the City, owned the largest. His tenant was a farmer, one Mr. Whiting, whose corn and grass land stretched from the Lane almost up to Loughborough House. A paragraph in *The London Chronicle* of May, 1761, tells how this gentleman was robbed by a young thief of his money as he stood on his doorstep in Cold Harbour Lane; the thief was eventually caught, tried at the Old Bailey, and, doubtless, transported. In 1828 the East family (genealogically) became extinct and between then and 1850 the bulk of the manor—now called estate—became ecclesiastical property, vested in the hands of the Archbishop of Canterbury. Building enterprise, that is to say, suburban expansion, tolled the doom of the estate's rural aspect about fifty or sixty years ago, the Cold Harbour and the farm being cleared away to make room for long terraces of high, basemented villas from which in a few short decades the original class of occupier has fled again before the advancing tide of ever increasing and

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multiplying small flats and tenement-dwellers. Harbour Road in a gentle descent leads down into Cold Harbour Lane almost opposite the site of the vanished inn, and Cold Harbour Place, a narrow strait uniting the thoroughfare of the Lane, a quarter of a mile nearer town, with Denmark Hill, dates back to the time when a watch-box used to stand with a watchman at its western end, one of the fraternity Leigh Hunt calls "staid, heavy, indifferent, more coat than man, pondering, yet not pondering, old but not reverend, immensely useless. No; useless they were not; for the inmates of the houses thought them otherwise, and in that imagination they did good."

ST. ANDREW'S CHURCH, GREENSTED, ESSEX

BY H. CLIFFORD

ENGLAND possesses many churches of archæological interest, but perhaps the one of most interest is the wooden nave of the little Saxon church at Greensted, near Ongar.

Its most interesting feature is that it is the only Saxon wooden church in the country. Another interesting feature is that this building is largely connected with the translation, from London to Bury St. Edmunds, of the remains of the great East Anglian saint and martyr, King Edmund; and to understand fully the history of this church, a short history of St. Edmund is necessary. He was the son of King Alkmund and was born in 841 at Nuremberg, the capital of his father's kingdom. Offa, the contemporary king of the East Saxons, was a relative of Alkmund and, as he had no heir, he appointed Edmund as his successor, who, as he grew up, became noted for his gentleness and piety, and when eventually he became king of the East Saxons he was much beloved by his subjects.

About this time England was being troubled by the Danes who were ravaging the country. Eventually they reached Edmund's kingdom and were met by his army near Thetford, where a very hot battle was fought. Edmund though full of gentleness and piety, lacked one essential point for such troublesome and war-like times, namely, great courage. At the battle of Thetford he escaped, but his enemies overtook him in a wood near Hoxne

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in Suffolk. He was captured and tied to a tree, barbarously ill-treated and shot at with arrows; finally Hengist, one of the Danish captains, ended the cruelty by cutting off his head.

Thus died Edmund, in 870, in the twenty-ninth year of his age. Apparently he was buried in a little wooden chapel near where he died, but at the end of thirty-three years the body, which was said to be incorruptible, was taken up and removed to the Abbey of Beodricsworth, now Bury St. Edmunds, and placed in a shrine. Here many miraculous cures took place, which drew a large number of pilgrims from all parts, who greatly enriched the abbey by their offerings. About one hundred years later, *i.e.*, in 1010, the Danes once more ravaged the land, and the abbey at Bury suffered greatly, all the monks fled in panic except one named Ailwin, who was faithful to the remains of St. Edmund. So great was his reverence for these precious relics, that he literally carried them by unfrequented paths and across fields until he reached London, where he deposited them in the church of St. Gregory by St. Paul's, fearing that if he placed them in the cathedral he would never regain them for Bury. Three years later peace was made with the Danes, and Ailwin was anxious to return to Bury with the remains of the Saint, but found he had great difficulty in obtaining them, as Aelfhun, Bishop of London, realizing the gain they brought to the church by the offerings of pilgrims who flocked here as at Bury, wished to retain them in London, but the Bishop eventually finding it useless to press his claim, allowed Ailwin and his followers to return to Bury with the remains.

This time the journey was far different to the one three years previously, not across fields and by obscure paths, but along the king's highway as a triumphant procession, welcomed at every village and stopping place along the route.

A great deal of uncertainty exists as to which way the procession started from London, but some authorities think it took its course along an old road by Chigwell, crossing the river Roding at Abridge, others think it crossed a little lower down at Passingford. Although the first part of the journey is lost in obscurity, there can be little doubt as to the course followed after leaving the Roding, being through Stanford Rivers and Greensted. From the latter place the ancient way may still be traced to the "Old Suffolk Way," through the Roothings, Dunmow, Clare, and finally reaching Bury.

It is probable that the procession rested at every village along the route, sometimes staying, as they did at Greensted,

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for several days. The route from the Roding can now be traced only with difficulty, for instead of being the main road from London to Suffolk, it is little more than a bridle path in places, and in others simply a track across fields. The present main road runs through Ongar, about one and a half miles above Greensted, but at the time of the above events, what is now Ongar, was the outer bailey of the stronghold of Eustace of Boulogne, and it was not till the 13th century that this outer bailey was sold for building purposes by the then possessor, Richard de Luci, who procured for it the right of a fair.

Now for a description of the church of Greensted. It consists of chancel, nave with south porch, and a western tower with spire. As the nave is the only part of the building that concerns this sketch the rest can be dismissed in a few words. The chancel is of brick and was built during the latter part of the 16th century, the mouldings round the door and windows are very fine specimens of moulded brickwork; in the interior a south-east pillar-piscina merits attention. The tower with its shingle spire was erected about the middle of the 18th century in typical Essex style, being constructed of boards fastened to a framework of timber.

The nave, which is about 30 ft. by 14 ft., is as simple in design as we might expect from its construction, being formed of half trunks of oak trees let into a plate at top of which rests the roof, and into a sill at bottom. The tops of the upright timbers (which are about $5\frac{1}{2}$ ft. high) are cut to a thin edge and let into a deep groove in the plate and fastened by wooden pins; the bottoms were morticed into the sill which rested on the ground. The sides of the uprights were grooved and tongues of oak let into them, to make the whole firm and weathertight. The west end is carried up as high as the roof and is formed of two layers of planks fastened together, but the beauty of this end is lost by the tower being built against it. No doubt the east end was similar to the west, but it was removed when the present chancel was added in the 16th century.

All the county historians differ slightly in their versions of the building. Morant, the standard historian of the county, states that "the church is dedicated to St. Andrew. It is a very uncommon antique building, for the walls are of timber not framed, but trees split or sawn asunder and let into the ground."

Wright, writing in 1835, gives a very good account of the

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building, and in this case does not follow his usual course in copying Morant; he says "the nave is formed of the half trunks of oaks, about $1\frac{1}{2}$ ft. diameter, split, and roughly hewn at each end, to let them into a sill at the bottom, and into a plank at the top, where they are fastened with wooden pegs. . . . It is 29 ft. 9 in. long, 14 ft. wide, $5\frac{1}{2}$ ft. high on the sides which supported the primitive roof. On the south side there are 16 trunks and 2 door posts, on the north 21, and 2 vacancies filled up with plaster. The west end is built against by a boarded tower, and the east by a chancel of brick; on the south side is a wooden porch and both sides are strengthened by brick buttresses; the roof is of later date, and tiled, but rises to a point in the centre, as originally formed. The brick building [chancel] has a blunt-pointed doorway, with mouldings curiously worked in the brick. . . . It seems not improbable, therefore, that this rough and unpolished fabric was first erected as a sort of shrine for the reception of the corpse of St. Edmund, which, in its return from London to Bury, as Lydgate says, in his MS. *Life of King Edmund*, was carried in a chest: and as we are told in the register above mentioned [*Registrum cœnobii sancti Edmundi*] that it remained afterwards in memory of that removal, so it might in process of time, with proper additions made to it, be converted into a parish church."

Lewis (*Topographical Dictionary*) says, "Body of church extremely curious, composed of half trunks of chestnut trees, about a foot and half in diameter, split through the centre and roughly hewn at each end to let them into a cill at the bottom and into a plank at the top where they are fastened by wooden pegs . . . supposed to have been erected about 1013 as a shrine for the reception of the corpse of St. Edmund."

The Rev. P. W. Ray, in a history of the church, states that the relics "were deposited for the night in a wooden chapel which, says Mr. Lethieullier (writing to the Soc. of Ant. 1757) has we believe never been questioned as the nave of the ancient little church of Greenstreet or Greensted, Chipping Ongar, Essex." By comparing the foregoing accounts, we notice that they are all of the opinion that the church was built hurriedly as a temporary shrine for the reception of the remains of St. Edmund in 1013, but there are several points which oppose this theory, chiefly the dedication and the wonderful preservation of the timbers. The importance of the dedication has been overlooked by most writers on the building; one thing

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seems certain, if this building was hastily erected in 1013 as a temporary shrine and afterwards utilized for the parish church, it is only reasonable that it should have been dedicated to the saint whose remains had rested there, and to whose memory it is supposed to have been specially erected, instead of which it is dedicated to St. Andrew.

Another point against the theory of a temporary building is the wonderful preservation of the timber, which show time and care having been taken in building, otherwise the wood would have shrunk as it became dry, and long before this would have rotted away. On the other hand there is every possibility that this church was erected as early as the 10th century or even earlier and was chosen for the reception of the remains of St. Edmund on account of its nearness to the high road along which the procession passed.

Most accounts state that the timbers were *split* or *sawn* asunder; of these, sawing is entirely out of the question, as saws required for such work as this were either not known to the Saxons or were very rare and expensive; splitting was not often resorted to for this kind of work, the usual method being to hew the trunk down to the required thickness. This to us sounds very extravagant; but timber was plentiful, especially in Essex.

Lewis states that the timbers are of chestnut, and this is held by many even now, but it is hardly likely that the Saxons would have gone to the great expense of importing a wood from abroad, which was not indigenous to Britain, in preference to the much superior oak which grew in plenty all around them.

One noticeable feature of this building is the remarkable preservation of its timbers; this is partly due to their perpendicular position, which has prevented the effects of the weather penetrating far into the wood, although there are deep furrows on the exterior due to the decaying of the softer parts of the wood. In Suckling's time, 1845, the interior was plastered, but this has been removed and the oaks can be seen in their full beauty. Several restorations have been found necessary to preserve this unique church. The original roof was undoubtedly of thatch, but had been replaced by tiles before Wright's time (1835). As there is no record as to when this was done, it is possible that it was re-roofed and one dormer window inserted and a south porch added either when the chancel was added in the 16th century or when the tower was added in the 18th century. A view of the building before

ST. ANDREW'S CHURCH, GREENSTED, ESSEX.

the first known restoration, in 1848, shows one dormer window and a south porch. In 1848 several important restorations were made, and it is only fair to give the restorers great credit for doing their best to preserve this ancient building, instead of destroying it and rebuilding in the ugly style then prevalent. Down to this time the timber walls had fitted into a wooden sill which more or less rested on the ground; in course of time this sill had become decayed owing to its contact with the damp ground, and decay was fast creeping up the timbers; one of the first things to do was to take several inches off the bottoms of the timbers, and to build a brick plinth to carry a new sill with the shortened timbers let into it. A great deal of opposition was raised at the time against this proceeding, but antiquaries are grateful to those concerned in preserving so historic a building. At the same time a new roof of fir was constructed, with three dormer windows, and the porch improved. Unfortunately this roof did not last long, for in 1891 it was found to be in a serious state owing to defective tiling, which necessitated urgent attention. The architect, Mr. F. Chancellor, F.R.I.B.A., of Chelmsford, designed a new roof of oak; he also removed the brick buttresses mentioned by Wright, as they were found to be useless, and now the timbers can be seen in their entirety. There is no reason why this building should not remain for many years to come, but it would have been lost altogether had not the restorations been carried out when they were.

To sum up, the nave of this little church presents the following most notable features:

I. It is the only Saxon church built of wood existing in this country.

II. It is the only church remaining where the corpse of St. Edmund rested on its return journey from London to Bury.

III. There is every probability that it was erected *as a parish church* as early as the 10th century, and not hurriedly in 1013 as a temporary shrine for the remains of St. Edmund.

IV. That it was chosen, like many others, on account of its nearness to the high road, which at that time ran close to the church.

THE ROYAL NAVY, THE ARMY, AND THE MERCANTILE MARINE AT GRAVESEND.

By ALEX. J. PHILIP.

FROM the previous articles in this series dealing with the glorious past of Gravesend it will have been obvious that such ships as were in use at the varying periods were probably built in the town or its immediate neighbourhood, from the skin boat of prehistoric times to the boats of the Romans, the Anglo-Saxons, and the Normans. Later on the town was the stage from which all boats left—the eastern extremity of the pier of London, if one might so describe it—or arrived. Instances of this are so numerous for more than five hundred years that it appears unnecessary to offer proof. Naturally it is during the sixteenth century that we find these early references most numerous; although many legal parchments of various dates in the possession of the Gravesend Public Library refer to riverside property in both Gravesend and Milton.

Froissart mentions the ships that sailed from the Thames in 1340 to meet those of the King of France. Sixty years later, in 1401, Gravesend and Tilbury were required to provide one "balinger," furnished with forty men, to be in attendance on a great ship of war.

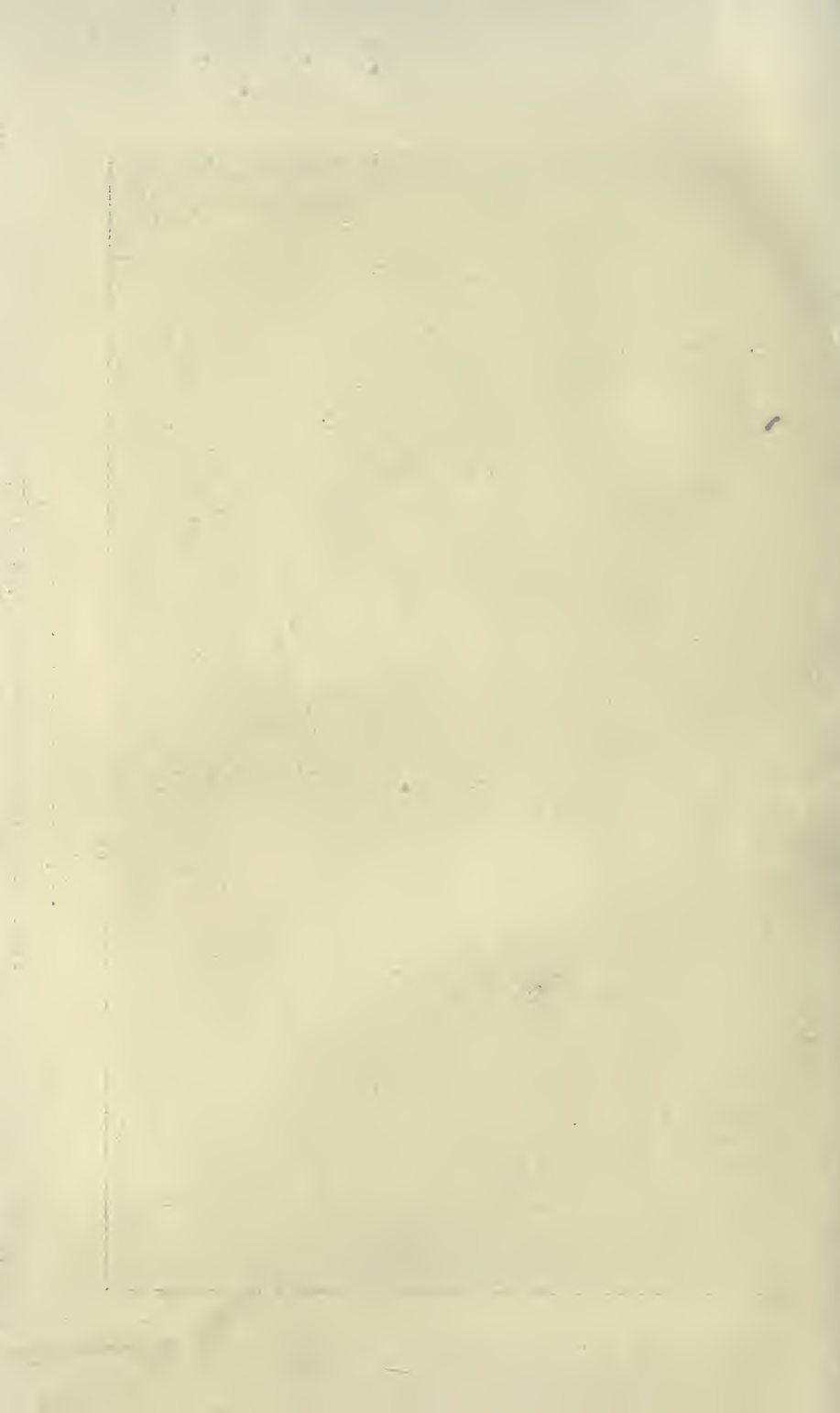
In 1528 a running fight took place between a French cruiser and a Flemish war vessel, the French vessel being boarded off Gravesend and eventually captured at London. In 1687 *The Palestine*, belonging to the Turkey company, was struck by lightning and burned. While in the next century, 1759, *The Friendship*, another merchant vessel, was blown up. In 1574 a warrant was issued under privy seal for the removal of Her Majesty's ships from the Medway to the Thames "as neere the bullwarkes besydes Gravesend as the place will serve."

The press gang found Gravesend a splendid place for their efforts, since most of the inhabitants were more or less interested in the river and the sea, but they were not always successful, as is evident from the following. *The Lynx*, a war sloop, laid alongside an East Indiaman, *The Duke of Richmond*,



Proposed Docks at North Fleet.

From *The Illustrated London News*, April 16, 1859.



MERCANTILE MARINE AT GRAVESEND.

in 1770, with the object of impressing the crew. The men showed fight, however, and eventually beat off the warship.

This short list does not in any way pretend to be complete; the whole of this chapter in the history of the town would not be sufficient to catalogue all similar events. Even during the last few years the list of wrecks is a long one, some of them attended with an appalling loss of life.

The gentry residing in the vicinity of the river had their own barges. These barges—a term then used to cover craft very different from the barge of to-day—were not confined to the use of those living in London. In the middle of the sixteenth century Lord Cobham writes to Sir William Cecil to the effect that the Cobham barge will attend him in London and will be met by his wife's litter at Gravesend. A few months later we find Sir William Cecil sending instructions to Gravesend to stop all Scotch vessels, and to attach or arrest the wife of one Fowler, servant of the Earl of Lennox, and other persons. In the same century Lord Cobham offered to send his barge to convey Mr. Verreicken from Gravesend to London.

From numerous entries to be found in letters and other papers of the period, it appears that the government was strongly represented in the town by officials. Warrants to search vessels, permits to pass some and detain others, exist in profusion. In 1586 we find the following:

Warrant to Mr. Pine and Mr. Tucker at Gravesend to allow Andrew Reapeth, master of *The Skoute* of Leith, to pass the Port of London towards Leith with goods; and a similar order to pass goods for the use of the King of Scotland and of Mr. Archibald Douglas, viz., 8 trucks, 11½ barrels, 2 puncheons, 1 firkin, 6 pieces of sheet lead, 1 little pack and 5 tuns of beer.

Perhaps one of the most interesting of these documents is a letter from Sir Philip Sidney to Queen Elizabeth, dated at Gravesend, November 10, 1585.

Most gracious Sovereign,

This rude piece of paper shall presume, becaws of your Majestie's commandment, most humbly to present such a cypher as little leysure wold afoord me. If there come any matter to my knowledge, the importance whereof shall deserve to be masked, I will not fail (since your pleasure is my only boldness) to your own handes to recommend it. In the mean tyme I beseech your Majestie will vouchsafe legibly to read

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my harte in the course of my life, and, though itself bee but of a mean worth, yet to esteem it lyke a poorhows well sett. I most lowly kiss your handes, and praie to God your enemies mai then onely have peace when thei are weery of knowing your force.

Your Majestie's most humble servant,

PH. SIDNEL.

During the reign of Elizabeth it was scarcely to be expected that Gravesend would not be touched directly or indirectly by the tragedy of Mary, Queen of Scots.

In July, 1575, Lord Burghley writes to Lord Cobham, Warden of the Cinque Ports, and informs him that having commended the searcher of Gravesend to the Queen, both in Lord Cobham's name and of his own knowledge, though he found no plain offence in Her Majesty touching the said searcher (who was thought to have permitted certain jewels of the Queen of Scots to pass out of the realm), yet Lady Cobham has required him to write thereof. Urges him not to continue in any anguish or grief of mind as doubting of the Queen's favour. He may make assured account thereof as others do; and yet must sometimes bear with a cast of cross words, as Burghley himself has done. Will search out further how the Queen was informed of these jewels, and will continue his suit for the man. Doubts whether the Lord Admiral will think it appertaining to his office.

The name of this searcher who was in fear of her Majesty's displeasure does not transpire, but in 1572, three years before, searchers were appointed by the Lords of the Council "to take charge for the serch of all suche as shall passe in or out at any of the Portes and Crekes underwrytten"; John Thorneton and Thomas Spicike were appointed at Milton (for Gravesend).

That Gravesend took its share in the smuggling business, even down to the 19th century, is comparatively well known, but that phase of the town's history will be more fittingly dealt with in another chapter; suffice it to mention here that cloth, ostensibly for Sandwich, Dover, Southampton, Ipswich, etc., was carried to Gravesend or Milton, under new or faked entries, to the detriment of the merchant adventurer.

An interesting document of July 23, 1600, is a testimonial or open "character" from Samuel Beke, portreeve, and Ro. Holland, minister and preacher at Gravesend:

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Whereas George Burnestrawe has heretofore been employed by divers of Her Majesty's Counsellors, but especially by your Honour, the said Burnestrawe has employed himself with all diligence to the uttermost in the said service at Gravesend, both on the land and on the water.

The office of searcher was no vain one, as is shown by the following letter from Lord Cobham to Sir Robert Cecil, dated June 12, 1600 :

Because the searcher of Gravesend can stay no longer, so that he must be delivered of this Scottishman, I thought good to have him sent down unto you by him, that such further order you might take with him as you shall see cause; but you shall find him, as I suppose, but a messenger, and ignorant of that which he carried. The letter he confesses was brought him by Hudson[']s man when he was ready to go aboard of the ship. I have not troubled you much this year with any extraordinary charge out of the Queen's purse. I pray you let me entreat somewhat of you for the searcher, who is honest and careful in his office.

Useful as the searchers at Gravesend appear to have been to the Crown, their kind offices were not always appreciated by their victims, as is shown by the following letter from Thomas Arundel to Sir Robert Cecil. Writing from Lee, June 4, 1595, the afflicted Arundel writes:

Though my eyes be yet so sore I cannot with my own hand write unto you, yet the pitiful complaint of Jacob Yansen, a pilot of Embden, importuneth me to send you this declaration of his mischance. He came laden with corn to London where he sold it for ready money, and, being hired by myself for the conveyance of my horses to Stode, brought with him also the money he had received, being ignorant, as he protesteth, of any law to the contrary. This money was found by the searchers of Gravesend, who have seized on it as forfeited, to the utter undoing of the poor man. His hope is that when you shall have understood that he brought in corn, that he was utterly ignorant of the laws, and that his irrecoverable loss dependeth hereon, he shall by your means be relieved, if not in the whole yet in some part of his forfeited money. . . .

The extent to which Gravesend entered into the plans of the naval and military officers of the Crown of the period may be gathered from the following extracts from letters

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and other documents of the time. In most cases there appears to have been no cause for regarding it with any affection: on the other hand, one cannot help thinking that the townsmen had in some cases at least every excuse for the treatment they accorded their often unwelcome visitors. In other cases the wind and the tide appear to have been the delinquents, and it would be unfair to saddle the Gravesenders of the 16th century with the vagaries of the elements which they could not control.

Archibald Douglas, on his way to Hamburg, was detained at Gravesend for two days, as Baron Fingask is informed by his correspondent, James Douglas, on November 2, 1594.

Two years later we have a pathetic yet violent letter from Sir Walter Raleigh to Sir Robert Cecil; all the evils for which Gravesend was noted appear to have assailed him at one time. He writes from Northfleet on May 4, 1596:

The ships that remain above are six . . . riding at Blackwall: another great fly-boat of London, called *The George*, another, *The Jacob* of Agarslote, a third, *The Jusua* of Horne, a fourth, and some 20 others. Pope, the marshal of the Admiralty, can inform Mr. Burroughs, for Pope prest all the ships. He can also inform you how little her Majesty's authority is respected, for as fast as we press men one day they run away another, and say they will not serve. . . . Here are at Gravesend, and between this and Lee, some 22 sail, those above that are of great draught of water cannot tide it down, for they must take the high water, and dare not move after an hour ebb until they be past Barking Shelf, and now the wind is so strong as it is impossible to turn down or to warp down or to tow down. I cannot write to our generals at this time, for the pursuivant found me in a country village a mile from Gravesend, hunting after runaway mariners and dragging in the mire from alehouse to alehouse; and could get no paper but that the pursuivant had this piece. Sir, by the living God there is no king nor queen nor general nor any one else can take more care than I do to be gone, but I pray you but to speak with Mr. Burroughs, and let him be sent for afterward before my Lord Chamberlain, that they may hear him speak whether any man can get down with this wind or no: which will satisfy them of me. If this strong wind last, I will steal to Blackwall to speak with you and to kiss your hand.

On the previous day Raleigh had written to Sir Robert Cecil, when he says, "I am not able to live to row up and down every tide from Gravesend to London."

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One cannot help wondering if there were not other reasons for delay and insubordination when it is considered that even while Raleigh was chasing drunken sailors from Northfleet beerhouses, Sir George Beeston, who was in charge of the blockhouse at Gravesend, "was over 85 years of age and unfit" for his duties.

Five years later we find the same thing, but in a worse degree, taking place in connection with more military evolutions under Captain Richard Wigmore. In a long letter to Sir Robert Cecil he says:

Finding yesterday that the wind did extraordinarily favour her Majesty's service, I resolved rather to follow that advantage than by staying at Gravesend in expectation of more victuals to spend that which I already had . . . I do assure you that if I had been seconded by other means, which ought not to have failed me, I had this day by 12 of the clock, with this wind which still continueth, anchored before Ostend; for I was here yesterday with *The Lyon* before 5 o'clock of the afternoon. But first it should appear that my fellow-conductors and I were not of one mind, for they liked better the air of Gravesend, where I left all of them except Captain Crumpton and Captain Wigmore who followed me.

He then goes on to relate that *The Lyon* wanted both men and victuals, and from Margate he despatched a man overland to Gravesend, "with charge to cause those victuals, which by your Honour's commandment Mr. Dorrell was to supply, to be immediately sent unto this place." Mr. Dorrell apparently was a tradesman of the town. This was written on July 27. He reached Margate on July 26, and eventually arrived at Ostend on the 28th. But down to August 11 he had not been able to complete his landing, having "been so swaddled with storms or extreme foul weather." In this letter of August 11, 1601, he complains bitterly of his helpers in the enterprise: "in truth I cannot but complain of my hard fortune to have been consorted with such assistants as fell to my share in this service, who, if they had not lost time in swaggering at Gravesend . . . all this business had fourteen days since been happily concluded."

Sir Robert Cecil must have regarded Gravesend as his *bête noir*, his little Old Man of the Sea. A little later, October 5 of the same year, Capt. Charles Leigh wrote in a similar strain:

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My last letter was from Gravesend, bearing date the 24th September, which I sent by the post. On the 30th of September I set sail from Gravesend, and was enforced by a stiff contrary wind to stop again in Tilbury Hope. . . . If the owners of *The Marygold* had been as willing to further the voyage as they ought to have been, I had been by this time upon the coast of Spain.

The military requirements of the time were exacting and excessive. Still, in the same exciting year, 1601, on October 25, two Captains, Kenricke and Fortescue, wrote the Lord Admiral, the Earl of Nottingham, that there were 37 men short in the 200 which should have been delivered from those pressed in Suffolk, and of those delivered many were unable to serve. They asked for a warrant to impress men in Kent, "being tapsters, ostlers, chamberlains, wherein the country now aboundeth, and other idle persons that shall pass to and fro in Gravesend barge."

Although not exactly either naval or military the two following anecdotes are closely connected with both, and throw much light on the life of the town at the time when it was an important factor in the military and other engagements of the Crown.

The first is a confession of one William Bradbentt, who appears to have been mixed up with a jewel robbery of some kind, and is dated October 9, 1592:

A mariner meeting me on the Campside of the common wharf at Gravesend, and bid me "Good morrow," and asked me how I did. I said "Well, God a mercy, my fellow"; which done, I went to the Campside and leaned there. The fellow then came to me, and asked me if I would deal for certain jewels. I straight desired to see them, and so went to my house and did so. The things he had I then demanded the price, and he held at 160*l.* for all, but in conclusion I bought them for 130*l.*, which I paid him present. There was in small sparks, as I do remember, 1330; other there were of somewhat bigger sort, but how many I cannot justly remember. Also there was 61 or such a number of small rubies, 16 ounces of ambergris, with two or three necklaces of small pearls, other two strings pearls, with two or three other trifles of very small value, and one chain of gold of eight ounces. All which things I had I showed unto one Shory, a goldsmith, which doth dwell at Gravesend, and requested his friendship to shew me the value of those things, which he, having viewed, valued

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them at 200*l*. This Shory desired me that he might have them for "sacking" of them, and swore unto me that he had valued them at the uttermost they be worth, for he said they be all small and they be not worth 4*l*. a piece, and some of them worth nothing, and the rubies he valued, as I remember, at 16 or 18*l*. the piece, and bad ones amongst them. The ambergris was not of the best. This done, for that I could understand the state of Shory, where he last dwelled, I made some enquiry of his state, and understood he was a paltry fellow of no credit. I took the course to put the things away, coming to the Exchange met with one Mr. Harman, a Dutchman, which I had seen before time at Venice, with one Sparrow, an Englishman. This Sparrow would sometimes come aboard my ship and bring this Dutchman with others with him. I, seeing Mr. Harman in the Exchange, went secretly to him, after some speech had how long it was since he was at Venice, and then I brake with him about those things I had. He then asked me whether he might see them, and whether they were, as I told him they were, at my house at Gravesend, and he then "axed" whereabout the value of the things would amount unto. I said 250*l*. Then he "axed" and said he would come down next morrow day tide, and so took my name for remembrance, and came down according to his promise; and, having viewed the things I had, "axed" the price, and I having understood the price by Shory, I "axed" him 250*l*., but I desirous to be despatched of them, sold them in time for 200*l*., and so he paid me present in gold, in manner all, and so continently departed up that tide, and that he was within short time to go over sea for anything he knew. I sold these commodities, as I remember, about the 20th of October. All this I will depose. By me Wm. Bradbentt.

The second is perhaps more interesting, and speaks for itself.

1576, Sept. 9.—Sir John Leveson to the Lord Chamberlain. Has received answer from Dover, from Mr. Lieutenant of the Castle there, touching the abuses offered to the Governor of Dieppe at Gravesend and Rochester. It appears that the Governor complained that they could not obtain horses or carts at Gravesend, and received opprobrious words from the hacqueney-men there; and that a certain woman, dwelling in or near to the sign of The Horn, took a gentleman of the Governor's company by the beard, with extreme violence, and had struck the Governor himself had not a gentleman put her back.

On receipt of this, he repaired this morning to Gravesend

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and took examinations; which show that there were two horses in the stable of William Clarke of The Horn, which horses two gentlemen of the Governor's company were desirous to have; and because they were the horses of strangers, left there, and no hacqueney, they were locked up in a stable, the door whereof two Frenchmen did break open to take out the said horses; and the wife of William Clarke, whose husband was then out of town, came into the stable and would have stayed the said horses there; and thereupon the Frenchmen thrust her from them and overthrew her, as she saith, and took out the said horses. The wife denies that she pulled any by the beard, but says she was so amazed with the blow that one of the Frenchmen gave her, that she would have stricken him if she had found any staff or cudgel readily. There are no witnesses but one, who saw the Governor come out of the stable, holding his hand on his beard as though one had been pulled by the beard. As for the Rochester men, the horses which had been taken from Gravesend to Rochester, being taken on to Sittingbourne and payment only made as far as Rochester, the hacqueney-men stayed the horses in the street there, for the horsehire to Sittingbourne, and some disorder ensued. Has three or four of the men in custody, and asks what punishment he shall inflict upon the woman and them. Has forborne to send up the portreeve of Gravesend, for, the constable being sore sick, there would have been much disorder, and the Duke and his train could not have been accommodated of such horses, carriages, and other things as was fit.

The most interesting period of Gravesend's naval history is doubtless that during which its dock-yard, and the neighbouring one at Northfleet, were in full swing. To show the extent of the operations at both these yards I give the number of vessels launched:

1780 to 1798, Mr. William Cleverly's yard, 11 war vessels, mounting 370 guns, and 2 merchantmen.

1789 to 1825, Mr. Pitcher's yard at Northfleet, 26 merchantmen, mostly for the East India trade.

1794 to 1813, other yards at Northfleet, 27 war vessels.

1839 to 1843, Mr William Pitcher's yard at Northfleet, 26 steam vessels.

Even at the present time boat building and barge building are carried on; but the latter industry all over the country has felt the extension of steam and other methods of ship's propulsion. Before 1780, when Cleverly launched his first

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ship, the shipbuilding industry had been limited to the building of fishing vessels and tiltboats. But previous to that year William Cleverly, whom Pocock describes as a Quaker, had bought a parcel of disused land at the extreme north-west of the parish and recommenced working the chalk pits "they having (beyond the memory of man) laid waste." Pocock reports that about a hundred and fifty hands were employed at the dockyard and in the chalk pits.

Before Cleverly's death rival dockyards had been established at Northfleet, and the number of vessels launched there shows how extensive the work became during the sixty and more years that the industry served to promote the prosperity of the town. Whether or not shipbuilding on a large scale will ever return to the town is a matter for conjecture. Suggestions have been made from time to time but without any tangible results, and the yard has lain disused for more than half a century.

The naval and military aspects of Gravesend's history are inextricably mixed. We need not revert to the two great historic occasions when the town was burned and the inhabitants carried away into captivity; the very fact that these forays were possible is good evidence that there was not then much of naval or military importance to stand between them and foreign foes. It was no doubt as a result of this practical demonstration of the unprotected nature of the Thames, not only at Gravesend but lower down the river, that the various "block houses" were erected, which at later dates developed into "forts." Two of these are of particular interest in the history of Gravesend, those now situated in the east of the town, and at Tilbury. The batteries at Shorne Mead, Cliff Creek, and near Coal House Point, may be dismissed with the mere statement that they exist. The interest centres on Gravesend and Tilbury. These will be dealt with more fully in a subsequent paper, as they fully deserve a chapter to themselves.

THE HAYMARKET, LONDON, HISTORICAL AND ANECDOTAL.

BY J. HOLDEN MACMICHAEL, author of *The Story of Charing Cross*.

[Continued from p. 210.]

CHAPTER VIII.

OXENDEN STREET, reached from the Haymarket by going down James Street, where it is about six houses on the left, extends thence to Coventry Street. It was built about the year 1675. Consequently it is probable that it received its name from Sir George Oxenden, Governor of the Fort and Island of Bombay, in commemoration of his having bravely defended Surat against the Mahrattas in January, 1663. It was not till later, 1688, that he was instrumental in the creation of the first military establishment of the East India Company at Bombay.

When Richard Baxter built his chapel on the west side of Oxenden Street, at the back of Mr. Secretary Coventry's garden wall, the Nonconformist-Episcopal author of *The Saint's Everlasting Rest* annoyed Secretary Coventry by his hair-splitting distinctions in theology. So the latter caused the King's drums to be beaten under the chapel windows, drowning the voice of the preacher, much to his disgust. But this was not, certainly, one would have thought, the purpose for which the nation maintained the King's drummers. The drummers, however, probably made some compensation to the revenue by repairing to the nearest tavern to spend their *pourboires*, or vails, as they were then called. This would have been perhaps at "The Lancashire Witch," at the corner of Oxenden Street, where the chapel was situated. At this curious London sign, one Sunday in 1776, a fire broke out at about eleven o'clock; the house was entirely destroyed, with two adjoining houses, and great damage was done to several others. The fire originated through a lamp, left in the cellar, setting fire to some dry wood. "It was with difficulty several lodgers that were in the house escaped with

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their lives; one man jumped out of a two pair of stairs window, with a child in his arms."¹

The chapel, from which Baxter was thus driven, was afterwards let by him for £40 a year to Dr. Lloyd, the then Vicar of St. Martin's, in whose parish it stood.² The "Oxenden Street Chapel" still existed when Elmes compiled his *Topographical Dictionary of London* in 1831. It was four houses down from Coventry Street on the right-hand side, and was still then an Episcopal chapel. The site is now occupied by the back premises of the Civil Service Supply Association.

There is a judicious mingling of religion and business in the following, not perhaps necessarily inconsistent or reprehensible so long as the "professor's" aims were quite above-board.

This is to give notice to all promoters of the holy worship, and to all the lovers of the Italian tongue, that on Sunday next, being the 2d of December, at five in the afternoon, in Oxenden Chapel, in Oxenden-street, near the Haymarket, there will be divine service in the Italian tongue, and will continue every Sunday at the aforesaid hour, with an Italian sermon preached by Mr. Casotti, Italian minister, author of a new method of teaching the Italian tongue to ladies, &c."³

Thomas Dermody (d. 1802, aged 27) lived at No. 30, Oxenden Street, when he came to London to try his fortune as a man of letters.⁴ No. 38 was the site of a well-known inn or tavern, by token, "The Black Horse," pulled down some years since. Its site, I am told by an old inhabitant, is indicated by the present gallery entrance to the Prince of Wales's Theatre, on the east side of Oxenden Street. According to the books of Messrs. Meux's brewery, about to be removed from Tottenham Court Road, the lease of the Black Horse in Coventry Street was valued for 9½ years at £80.⁵

This is to give notice to all Ladies and Gentlemen, Lovers of Musick, that Mr. Tabel, the famous instrument maker, has 3 fine Harpsichords to dispose of, which are and will be the last of his making, since he intends to leave off Business. They are to be seen till the 25th of this Month, at his House

¹ *Middlesex Journal*, Dec. 2-3, 1776.

² Cunningham.

³ *Spectator*, Nov. 30, 1711.

⁴ Wheatley's *London*.

⁵ *Daily Telegraph*, Nov. 27, 1905.

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in Oxenden-Street, over against the black Horse, near Piccadilly. N.B. He has also some fine Aire-wood for furnishing the inside to dispose of.¹

Very remarkable is the metamorphosis which the Haymarket has undergone from the days when it was lined with hay-wagons and bucolically patronized ale-houses, to its present condition as a fashionable thoroughfare with shops replete with every luxury that can be desired by the *beau monde* of western London. A link between these two stages of its existence was a lingering occidental representative of the hot-potato trade, who so late as 1878 had a pitch at the Coventry Street end of the Haymarket. This was known to George Augustus Sala as "The Royal Albert Potato Can!"

At that three-legged emporium of smoking vegetables [he says], gleaming with block-tin painted red, and brazen ornaments, the humble pilgrim of the Haymarket may halt and sup for a penny. For a penny? What say I? for a halfpenny, even may the belated and impoverished traveller obtain a refreshment at once warm, farinacious and nourishing. Garnish your potato when the Khan of the Haymarket has taken him from his hot blanket-bed, and cut him in two—garnish him with salt and pepper, eschew not those condiments, they are harmless, nay, stimulating—but ho! my son, beware of the butter! It is confusion. Better a dry potato and a contented mind, &c. Then at the doors of most of the taverns, saving your presence through competent funds, at the Café de l'Europe, a second-class French restaurant, or one of the numerous oyster-bars, you may have met with an ancient dame, of unpretending appearance, bearing a flat basket, lined with a fair white cloth. She, for your penny, would administer to you a brace of bones, covered with a soft white integument, which she would inform you were "trotters." There was not much meat on them, but they were very toothsome and succulent. It was no business of yours to enquire whether they were sheep's trotters or pig's trotters, or trotters of corpulent rats or overgrown mice. They are "trotters." Look not the gift horse in the mouth; for the penny was perhaps a gift, however strictly you may have purchased the trotters. Eat them and thank heaven, and go thy ways and take a cooling drink at the nearest pump with an iron handle chained to it, which was, if I am not mistaken, over-against St. James's Church in

¹ *London Evening Post*, May 30, 1723.

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Piccadilly. Or perhaps you were fond of ham-sandwiches. The dame with the basket would straightway vend you two slices of a pale substance, resembling in taste and texture sawdust pressed into a concrete form, between which is spread a veneer of inorganic matter, having apparently a strong affinity to salted log-wood. This is ham! The concrete sawdust is bread! The whole is a sandwich! These luxuries are reckoned very nice by some persons, and quite strengthening.¹

Shug Lane, afterwards Tichborne Street, ran obliquely from the top of the Haymarket into Glasshouse Street, but Tichborne Street was effaced on the formation of Shaftesbury Avenue, though part of Glasshouse Street remains. The "Locke's Head" was the sign of J. Millar in Shug Lane.

On the north side of Tichborne Street, "at the top of the Haymarket," was Week's Museum, which, when Allen wrote his *History of London* in 1828, had not even then been completed, and perhaps never was. But so early as 1803 it is described as being on the plan of the celebrated Mr. Cox's Museum.² The grand room was 107 feet long, and 30 feet high, and was covered entirely with blue satin. It contained "a variety of figures, which exhibit the effects of mechanism in an astonishing manner. The architecture is by Wyatt; the painting on the ceiling by Rebecca and Singleton. Previous to its opening, by way of specimen, two temples are exhibited, nearly seven feet high, supported by sixteen elephants, embellished with seventeen hundred pieces of jewellery, in the finest style of workmanship. The Tarantula Spider and the Bird of Paradise are surprising efforts (on a minute compass) of the proprietor's ingenuity. The price of admission to the Temples is two shillings and six-pence, and they may be seen from the hours of twelve till four; and from six till nine; the Tarantula and the Bird are shewn at one shilling each."³

Marylebone Street⁴ was a continuation of Shug Lane or Tichborne Street from Hedge Lane and the Haymarket, and so named because it led to Marylebone, "in the same way,"

¹ *Twice Round the Clock*, by G. A. Sala, 1878, p. 323.

² For Cox's Museum see Mr. G. L. Apperson's *Bygone London Life*.

³ *The Picture of London*, for 1803, pp. 188-9.

⁴ There is a plan of the houses in Marylebone Street and Tichborne Street, by Chawner, in the Crace Collection (Maps and Plans, xii, 19) copied from one drawn in 1796.

THE HAYMARKET, LONDON.

says Cunningham, "that Drury Lane led from St. Clement's to St. Giles's-in-the-Fields, and Tyburn Lane (now Park Lane) from Tyburn to Hyde Park Corner." It was built, according to the St. Martin's Rate Books, about 1679, and was probably well known to all the gamblers and blacklegs in London as a starting-point through which Mary-le-bone House, on the site of the present Regent's Park, was reached. Mary-le-bone House was a gaming place attached to Marylebone Gardens, which Gay makes the scene of Macheath's debauches.¹

The Earl of March writes to George Selwyn:

On Wednesday we had a party to see Wanstead. We dined at the Spread Eagle upon the Forest, and at our return home, between eight and nine, we saw a most violent fire that had just broken out in Mary-le-bone Street, at the upper end of the Haymarket. It lasted till one in the morning, and has burnt a great many houses. I never saw anything so violent, and the crowd of people in the streets all round was beyond conception. The fire burnt with such fury that no one could have any idea how far it would go.²

Great Windmill Street, opposite the north end of the Haymarket, was (like the present Hill Street, a few yards north from the north-west corner of Finsbury Square),³ so named from a windmill which stood there, as shown in Faithorne's Map, 1658. This windmill gave its name to Windmill Fields, mentioned in a printed proclamation of April 7, 1671. There is still a curious combination for a sign, that of "The Ham

¹ These gardens were suppressed in 1777-8. The ground is now occupied by Beaumont Street, part of Devonshire Street, and part of Devonshire Place. Either Marylebone Lane, Oxford Street, or Harley Street, would lead to the Gardens, which may also be described as being at the north end of Harley Street, where, so late as 1808, a few trees remained indicating the exact site of the gambling hell where the Duke of Buckingham gave a dinner to all the gaming and blackleg fraternity at the conclusion of each season. His parting toast on these occasions was—"May as many of us as remain unchanged next spring meet here again."

² Jesse's *Selwyn and his Contemporaries*, 1882, vol. iii, p. 57.

³ Properly *Windmill Hill Street*, on the site of the ancient Windmill Hill, which was raised by above a thousand cartloads of human bones brought from St. Paul's Charnel-house in 1549. These, when covered by the sweepings of the streets in the city, became used as a public lay-stall (*i.e.*, a place to lay dung, soil or rubbish in), and the ground thus raised attained such an accommodating elevation that three windmills were erected on it.—See Elmes's *Topog. Dict. of London*, 1831.

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and Windmill," at No. 37, Great Windmill Street, the corner of Ham Yard. One can only suggest that the sign of the "Ham" may be the Westphalia Ham, which exists to this day outside a few ham and beef shops in London.

The "famous Water Theatre" at the lower end of "Pickadilly," was also known by the Windmill at the top of it.

Nos. 7 and 8, Great Windmill Street, or the houses which used to be known as such, are premises now occupied by the luxurious Trocadero Restaurant. The Restaurant succeeded the Trocadero Music Hall, the "running" of which first fell to the lot of a Mr. Bignell, after whose death the late lamented Mr. Sam Adams infused it with unexpected life; the writer remembers the glorious volume of men's voices, when the whole audience to a man seemed to join in some topical song such as "The Death of Cock Robin." Before this the place had been the less reputable casino, known as the Argyll Rooms (built on the site of the tennis-court attached to Piccadilly Hall), and originally in Little Argyll Street, Regent Street. But even with such an expert manager as Mr. Sam Adams the "Troc," surrounded as it was by formidable rivals like the Empire and the Pavilion, to say nothing of the Alhambra, after determined attempts on the part of others to keep it going, ceased to flourish. The building was razed to the ground, and on its site rose the present Trocadero Restaurant. Timbs says, that in his time the site of the Argyll Rooms was occupied by a tennis-court, which was formerly situated in the rear of "Pickadilly Halle."¹

When the immediate neighbourhood of the Haymarket had begun to abandon all pretence of maintaining the fragrant scent of the hayfields as its prominent characteristic, it is sad to say, as we have seen, that it became a far from savoury spot, devoted to the desperate pleasures of the licentious and the generally intemperate. The thoroughfare and its by-streets, from top to bottom, appear to have been more or less monopolized by taverns, eating-houses, and supper-rooms. One of the more respectable pleasure rendezvous, was that with which the name of Scott became identified at the top of the street. In the late fifties and sixties, the Wilton Tavern, so named from John Wilton, part proprietor with Scott, of Scott's Supper Rooms, was a most famous resort. It was one of the last surviving supper-houses which existed under con-

¹ Timbs's *Curiosities of London*, 1868, p. 669.

THE HAYMARKET, LONDON.

ditions since modified by a combination of clubs, County Councils, and licensing laws. It was celebrated for its clear soups and shell fish, especially oysters, and all London visitors worth their salt formerly repaired to it as one of the features of the great metropolis not to be omitted. From a dingy little oyster-shop, Scott's has become, especially since the fire of a few years ago, an epitome of all the glories with which marble, mirror, and velvet are deemed capable of investing domestic architecture.

A writer describing the house in 1890, says:

Scott's in 1850 was something very different from the mere eating-house to which visitors came to satisfy an appetite. It was a place for reunion, a centre of social intercourse. Dropping into the rooms after midnight, a Londoner with any standing in society would find a variety of friends. At one table would be a party of officers, talking shop to the suitable accompaniment of a lobster; at another a detachment from the House of Commons would be in occupation—they used to stroll up from Westminster through the park, with a regularity that enabled the nymphs of the pavement to acquire an embarrassing familiarity with the faces and names of well-known politicians. Scott's was never a centre for literary men, as some other famous taverns that we could name have been, but Dickens and Thackeray, and Albert Smith and Wilkie Collins, and the brilliant young men of *All the Year Round* and *Household Words*, have undoubtedly foregathered within its hospitable walls, for it was a famous place to see life and study character.

The original Scott was a man well-known about town, who discounted a bill as obligingly as he served oysters. When he started the business he speedily acquired a reputation for the excellence of his clear soup and his shell-fish, and his name began to distinguish the house heretofore known as The Wilton. Many years of prosperity followed. In the fifties and the sixties, Scott's was one of the most prominent features of the Haymarket, then a quarter in which were many notable taverns, and as to which it was the boast of young fellows of enterprise that they could begin at one end of the street early in the evening, sober, and come out at the other end in the sunshine of next morning, thoroughly and adequately drunk, without passing more than half an hour or so in each house of call. The stories of that period are hardly fit for publication. . . . In 1872 the shadow of the evil days fell upon Scott's in common with all London taverns. Bruce's bill was passed in that year, and it became the law that all licensed houses in London

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should be closed at midnight. . . . In 1874, under the auspices of a Conservative government, a modification of the obnoxious Act was made, and the hours for closing were extended to 12.30, the point at which they have stuck ever since, whilst the "privileged" licenses exempted some lucky ones.¹

The Society of Antiquaries possess a printed proclamation (*temp.* Charles II, 1671) against the increase of buildings in Windmill-fields and the fields adjoining Soho; and in the Plan of 1658, Great Windmill Street consists of straggling houses, and a windmill in a field on the west side.²

Judging from the innumerable paragraphs relating to the doings and the characteristics of the people at large in the 17th and 18th centuries, the mention of small-pox is run very close by that of horse-stealing. A black gelding with a bald face, etc., was stolen from a field near Tyburn, and notice of its recovery is requested by Arthur Johnston at the Duke's Head in Windmill Street, Haymarket.³ Such announcements are of common occurrence at the period alluded to.

The Church of St. Peter, on the east side of Windmill Street, was erected in 1861, from the designs of R. Brandon, at an outlay for the building and furniture of £5,500. The land on which it is built cost £6,000, a large sum, which is at the rate of more than £50,000 per acre. The money was subscribed by the inhabitants of St. James's Parish, principally by the aristocracy, the late Lord Derby being a munificent subscriber.⁴

One of the early concerts of music, admittance to which was only sixpence, was held at the Coachmaker's Arms in Windmill Street.⁵

Among the eminent inhabitants of this street was the celebrated anatomist and physician, Dr. William Hunter, who, when his professional emoluments produced an extraordinary supply of wealth, was desirous of devoting a portion of it to the establishment of an anatomical school and museum in the metropolis. With that view, about 1765, he presented a memorial to Mr. Grenville, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, requesting a grant from government of the site of the King's Mews, whereon he offered to erect an edifice at the expense

¹ Newspaper cutting, undated.

² Timbs's *Curiosities of London*, p. 669.

³ *London Gazette*, Feb. 24, 1686.

⁴ Wheatley's *Round about Piccadilly*, 1870, p. 175.

⁵ J. T. Smith's *Streets of London*, 1849, p. 18.

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of £7,000, and to endow a professorship in perpetuity. But his proposal was treated with neglect; in consequence of which he purchased a plot of ground in Great Windmill Street, Haymarket, where he built a house, anatomical theatre, and museum, for his own professional purposes, and thither he removed in 1770. Here, besides objects connected with the medical sciences, he ultimately collected a library of Greek and Roman classics, and a valuable cabinet of medals. He employed many years in the anatomical preparations and in the dissections which were the result of his untiring industry, besides making additions by purchase from the museums of Sandys, Falconer, Blackall, and others. Minerals, shells, and other specimens of natural history, were gradually added to the Museum, which became one of the curiosities of Europe; the cost of the whole exceeded £70,000. It was eventually bequeathed by its promoter to the University of Glasgow, with £8,000 to support and augment it. There, behind the University, the Museum, still known as the Hunterean, was erected in 1805.

From the Hunterean School in Great Windmill Street, the great anatomist issued his marvellous work, *The Anatomy of the Human Gravid Uterus*, a book than which there was perhaps "never one published by any physician upon which longer and severer labour was bestowed."¹

It was at his house in Windmill Street that Dr. Hunter died with the memorable speech on his lips: "If I had strength enough to hold a pen, I would write how easy and pleasant a thing it is to die."² His brother was asked as to the truth of this utterance when he merely remarked "that it was poor thing when it came to that."

Hunter's anatomical theatre served the purpose for which it was built after the distinguished physician's death in 1783:

THEATRE of ANATOMY, Great Windmill Street.

Mr. WILSON'S LECTURES upon ANATOMY, PHYSIOLOGY, PATHOLOGY, and SURGERY will begin on Wednesday, October 1st at Two o'Clock—Practical Anatomy in the Forenoon as usual by Mr. Wilson and Mr. Thomas.³

James Wilson, F.R.S., had given several courses of lectures

¹ *Two Great Scotsmen, the Brothers William and John Hunter*, by Geo. R. Mather, M.D., F.F.P.S.G., 1893, p. 69.

² See further Dr. S. F. Simmons's *Life of Dr. Hunter*.

³ *Evening Mail*, Sept. 10-12, 1800.

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in other parts of London before he established himself at the Museum in Great Windmill Street, where Mr. Brodie was associated with him as a lecturer on surgery. The latter gentleman "whose success in his profession has neither been greater than his merits deserve, or the anticipations entertained by his friends, with a modesty which generally accompanies distinguished talents, felt diffident in appearing as a lecturer alone on the practical part of his profession. Mr. Wilson therefore undertook to join him in this undertaking, and gave up to him all the fees received for such lectures."¹

When the school in Great Windmill Street, long after Dr. William Hunter's death, came to an end, the buildings were at one time used as a restaurant. They now form the back part of the Lyric Theatre, and the stage-door is where the bodies used to be taken into the house for dissection. Hunter had thought of living in Whitehall, but gave up this plan in favour of Windmill Street. The site that he desired for his Central School was where the National Gallery now stands.

Another celebrated physician in this street in 1729 was Sir John Shadwell, son of the poet laureate. He was physician to Queen Anne, George I, and George II. Another eminent inhabitant, says Cunningham, was Colonel Charles Godfrey, in 1683, who married Arabella Churchill, sister of the Great Duke of Marlborough, mistress of James II and mother of the Duke of Berwick. Among the persons rated to the poor of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, for houses in St. James's Square, was Madam Churchill, as she was then styled.

[To be continued.]

¹ Pettigrew's *Medical Portrait Gallery*, vol. ii.

SOME EAST KENT PARISH HISTORY.

BY PETER DE SANDWICH.

[Continued from p. 158.]

WHITFIELD.

(Now in Sandwich Deanery.)

WOOTTON.

(Anciently in Elham Deanery.)

[1557?—Cardinal Pole's Visitation?]

MR. LEONARD DIGGS presented for taking away ten sheets of lead from the church, and for spoiling the Roodloft and taking away stones from the buttresses of the church, and for taking a cross of lead and a hand-bell.

Mr. Mantell for withholding a rent of 8 acres of land, that should find a lamp before the Sacrament.

William Forde for withholding 5s. from the church.

John Millett for withholding 3s. from the church.—(Fol. 41.)

1561. It is presented that our parson doth serve Denton also.

That one Roger Howre doth withhold certain lands given to the maintenance of a lamp, and our church can have no profit thereof.

That Andrew Harsfield doth keep a seam of barley of church-stock, and we have had none account.

They lack the Paraphrase.

They have had no quarter sermons.—(Fol. 90; vol. 1561-2.)

1563. Andrew Harsfield of Barham owes unto the church a seam of barley, and hath paid it this twenty years, and now we cannot get it.

Roger Nower of Barham doth withhold 8*d.* by the year, given to the finding of a lamp.—(Vol. 1562-3.)

It is presented that Silvester Dennys hath three ewes in

SOME EAST KENT PARISH HISTORY.

his hands, which hath been due of long time and as yet not paid.

Ambrose Harpesfield [*sic*] of Barham hath likewise in his hands half a seam of barley, due to the church.

That there was certain money given out of the land, which now one Roger Nower occupieth, towards the finding of a lamp, being turned to no other use, but resteth in his hands.

That the Quarter-sermons are not made accordingly.—
(Vol. 1563-4.)

1569.—[Archbishop Parker's Visitation.]

Rectory:—in the patronage of the heirs of Leonard Diggs, or the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Rector:—Dom. John Semyper, who is married, resides there; has one benefice, and hospitable as far as he is able; not a preacher, nor licensed to preach, nor a graduate.¹

Householders, 16

Communicants, 50

1574. We present a cove² of the parsonage barn by weather of late decayed, and we have moved the parson of it, who hath promised to repair it again.

Our church lacketh reparation of the glass windows, the which hath of late been broken down.—(Fol. 73; vol. 1574-6.)

1578. That our church-yard is somewhat in decay.—
(Fol. 12; vol. 1577-83.)

1580. *See under* Badlesmere in vol. vii, p. 212.

1588. They say that their chancel and parsonage-house is very much fallen in decay, for reformation whereof they desire to have a day set down for the amending thereof.—
(Fol. 24; vol. 1585-1636.)

¹ These returns for the whole Deanery of Dover give a summary:

Number of churches and chapels, 13

Priests married, 7

Preachers, none

Householders, 386

Communicants, 1246.—(Fol. 56.)

² Cove means a shed, a lean-to, or low building with a shelving roof, joined to the wall of another; the shelter which is formed by the projection of the eaves of a house acting as a roof to an outbuilding.—
English Dialect Dictionary.

SOME EAST KENT PARISH HISTORY.

1590. That the church-yard lieth wide open and unfenced, so that cattle come and spoil it.—(Fol. 108.)

1597. We find that the last will and testament of James Broker, gentleman, to want his due execution, for he hath given certain legacies, amongst other places, to the church or poor of the parish of Wootton, by his last will, as in the same do more plainly appear. And the non-payment we think to rest in Mr. Thomas Fineux, executor of the same James Broker in his last will.¹—(Fol. 73; vol. 1585-92, Part ii.)

1599. Our lofts in the belfry lack "bearthing" [flooring], for the which we crave a day.—(Fol. 172.)

Michael Barber, that will not pay his part of the cess made by the consent of the parishioners for the repairing of their church, 16s.—(Fol. 173; vol. 1583-1636.)

1605. We have not the Ten Commandments set up as yet, nor have we the table of the degrees of marriages [forbidden] set up.—(Fol. 57.)

1606. That the church-yard is unfenced, and by reason thereof much annoyed by cattle.—(Fol. 93.)

1607. Our minister² is not a licensed preacher, but sometimes expoundeth the scriptures.—(Fol. 123.)

1609. That Thomas Pilcher, late churchwarden, was in the time of his churchwardenship there absent from his parish church five several Sundays together.—(Fol. 181.)

Whereas we have made by general consent three several cesses and one half, towards the reparation of our church, there is one Ingram Lushington of the parish of Wootton, occupying about 32 acres of land, being in our parish, whom we have cessed every time 16*d.*, which amounteth in the whole unto 4*s.* 8*d.*, and we present him for detaining the same sum, being often demanded.—(Fol. 184; vol. 1602-9.)

¹ For the will of this James Brooker, buried at Denton, 7 Feb., 1594, see *Archæologia Cantiana*, vol. vi, p. 290.

² Thomas Pritchard, rector from 1590 until his death, 17 September, 1615, aged 68, when he was buried in the chancel.—*Hasted*, vol. iii, p. 765.

THE EARLY CHURCHES OF SOUTH ESSEX.

1610. We say we hear Mr. John Coppin¹ found certain Popish Books, hid in an old wall he pulled down.

1621. Part of the fence of the churchyard is decayed in this last winter, and is not yet repaired, for that we are willing to have the wall made up, when the frost shall be past for this year, lest it fall down quickly again.—(Fol. 38; vol. 1619-32.)

1636. I, Henry Wullett, churchwarden of Wootton, do present William Rolfe of the same parish, for refusing to pay three several cesses made for the reparation of our parish church; in the first of which he is cessed at 6s. 8d. for land, after the rate of 2d. the acre; and in each of the other two at 8s. 4d., after the rate of 1d. the acre.—(Fol. 41; vol. 1585-1636.)

(End of Dover Deanery.)

[To be continued.]

NOTES ON THE EARLY CHURCHES OF SOUTH ESSEX.

BY C. W. FORBES, Member of the Essex Archaeological Society.

[Continued from p. 206.]

EAST HORNDON.

THE church of East Horndon is situated on the road between Brentwood, Orsett, and Tilbury, about three miles to the south of the town of Brentwood, and two and a half miles to the east of East Horndon Station, on the London, Tilbury, and Southend Railway.

Herongate, the village of the parish, stands on the south brow of the Brentwood heights, one mile to the north-east of the church, which stands alone on the top of a hill. For some time past it has been used for services in the summer months

¹ John Coppin of Bokesbourne (a branch of the Deal family) obtained in 1606 the Manor of Wootton, and died in 1630, being buried in the church.—*Hasted*.

THE EARLY CHURCHES OF SOUTH ESSEX.

only, a small mission church having been erected at Herongate for use during the dark winter days.

Herongate is said to take its name from a gate, which at one time crossed the road as a division between the manors of Heron and Abbott. Heron manor belonged for centuries to the Tyrell family; prior to this it was in the possession of a family of the name of Heron; the old mansion was pulled down in 1788.

The church is an ancient foundation, though the present structure dates only from the early part of the 15th century; it is built chiefly of red brick, in the Perpendicular style. During a restoration some few years back, traces of the foundations of an earlier church were discovered. No records exist, so far as is known, of this building, and the earliest Rector known dates from 1535. Although as a building it is not of great architectural merit, yet from an historical point of view it is of interest as having been connected with the Tyrell family since its erection.

The church consists of a nave, with north and south transepts, a chancel, with north and south chapels, a south porch, and a massive stunted tower, containing four bells.

The inscriptions on the bells are as follows:

- 1 and 2. "Thomas Bartlet made me 1621."
3. "John Clifton made me 1635."
4. "Tho. Gardiner, Sudbury, Fecit 1735."

There are three doorways, north, south, and west. The south and west doors are square-headed; the north door, now closed, being pointed. The north and south doors are built of stone, and the west of red brick. The north door appears to be work of the 14th century, and may be a part of the earlier building. On the inside of the west door are the remains of a holy-water stoup.

At the south door is a red brick porch, with a niche over the top, containing a modern image.

On first entering the nave we are struck by the peculiar railed galleries built over the north and south transepts, and attached to the outer walls; these galleries at one time formed small rooms, in which, it is believed, dwelt one of the chantry priests connected with the church. The north gallery stairs are lighted by a small quatrefoil window; these stairs were also used to give access to the rood-loft; the opening in the wall is now filled in.

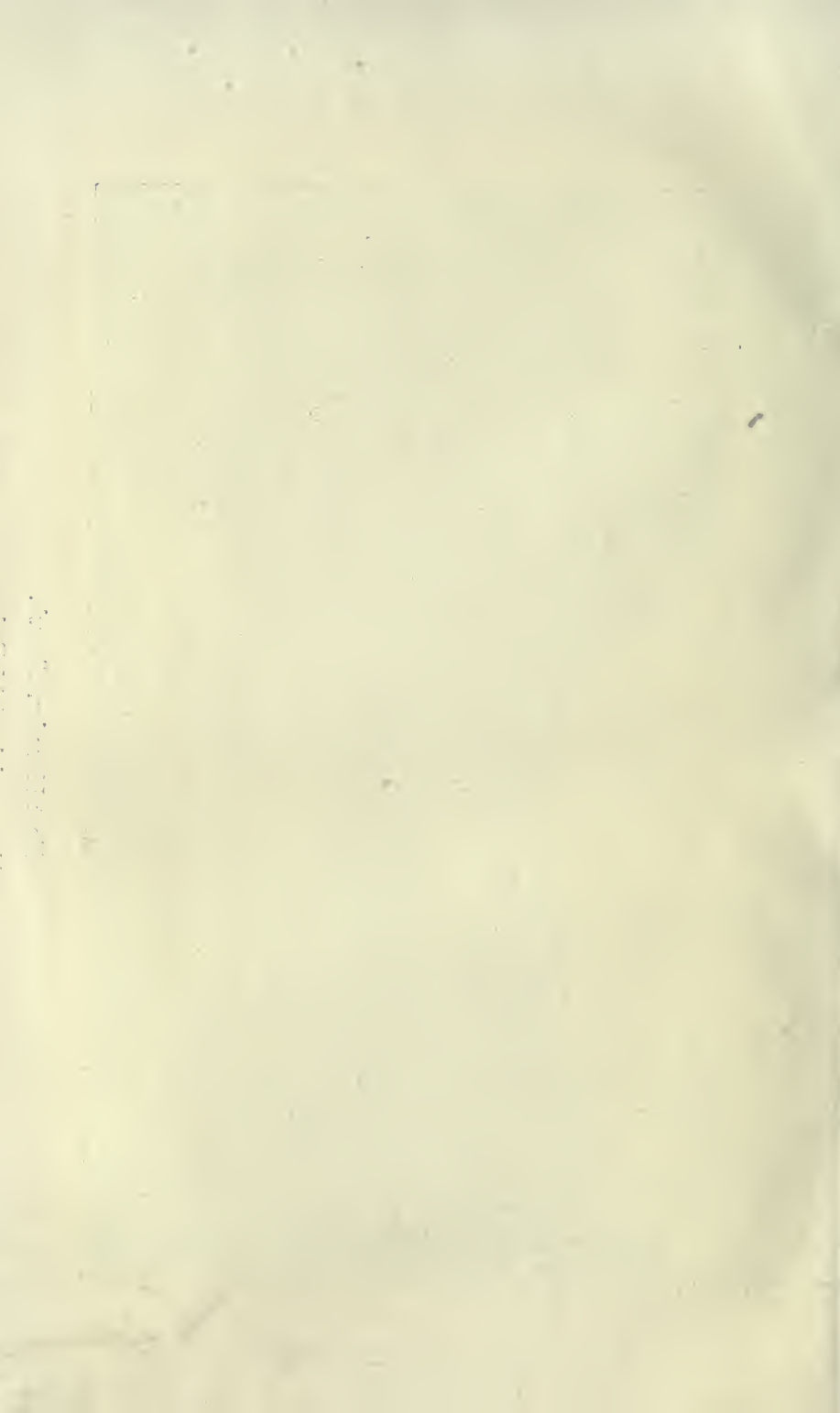
There is no chancel arch. On each side, between the nave

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East Horndon Church.

Photograph by C. W. Forbes



THE EARLY CHURCHES OF SOUTH ESSEX.

and chancel, are brick pillars, now cemented over; a beam runs across at the top, in the centre of which are three wooden uprights supporting the centre of the chancel roof. This is about three feet lower than the roof of the nave, barrel shaped, and enriched with handsomely carved bosses.

The nave roof is also of timber, supported by king-posts, the interstices being filled in.

The font, under the north gallery, consists of a large square basin, supported by a circular pillar in the centre, and four smaller pillars, with square capitals, at the corners. The basin is decorated at the sides with ornamental crosses and arcading alternately. It is Early Norman work, and presumably belonged to the first church erected here.

The south transept fills the space between the porch and the south chapel, the roofs of the porch and transept being practically one slope; the south walls are in a line, a brick buttress forming the division. The chapel is built out a further two feet; this has four buttresses for support, two on the south side and the others at the angles.

The upper portion of this transept forms a gallery similar to that on the north side; the entrance to this is now by a staircase from the porch, the original doorway and stairs in the transept having been filled in.

The lower portion is lighted by a large three-light square-headed stone window; over this is a smaller two-light window in the gallery. The windows in the north transept and gallery are similar.

Over the upper window of the south transept is a sundial.

The south chapel is lighted by three windows of three lights each, one on the east and two on the south side between the buttresses; the window on the east side has an obtuse, four-centred, pointed head, the other two being square-headed.

There is a single-light window to the west of the porch, and two smaller ones with plain brick mouldings over the west door. The wall on the north side of the nave is blank.

On the three sides of the upper stage of the tower are single-light windows, also with plain brick mouldings.

On each side of the chancel is a chapel. That on the north side is now used as a vestry; it originally belonged to the Marney family, and was decorated with their coat of arms. That on the south is much larger and finer, and was the private chapel of the Tyrells; it is divided from the chancel

THE EARLY CHURCHES OF SOUTH ESSEX.

by a beautiful arcade of two arches, supported in the centre by a stone pillar, ornamented with four smaller round pillars and an ornamental capital. An arch has lately been cut through the west wall to connect the chapel with the transept.

The east window is pointed; it has three lights at the bottom, with four smaller ones at the top, with fine Perpendicular tracery.

The old communion plate dates from about 1650.

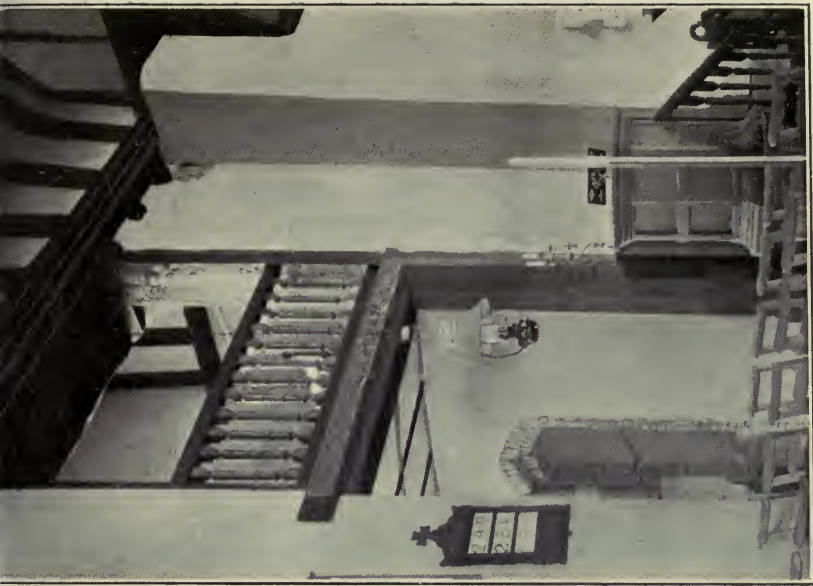
The lower portion of the south transept is commonly called the "Petre Chapel" or chantry. There is an altar tomb in a recess in the south wall, with an ornamental canopy above; it is commonly stated that the heart or head of Queen Anne Boleyn was buried here. This is highly improbable, as will be seen later on, as a Tyrell was connected with the beheading of the Queen; but it is generally understood now by most writers that the heart or head may have rested here for one night on its journey to Rochford Hall, the home of the Boleyn family, the final resting-place doubtless being in Rochford Church.

Over the tomb are some brasses, affixed to a slab let into the wall at the back of the tomb. This slab was for many years quite bare, the brasses having been mislaid; they were discovered during the restoration in 1899, and restored to their original position.

The effigies consist of a headless man, wearing the usual armour of the early part of the 16th century, a short skirt of mail, etc.; on the feet are broad-toed shoes. Beside him are eight sons. Opposite the man are those of his two wives with their daughters; above, there was originally a representation of the Holy Trinity, and a note at the foot. This brass and tomb is thought to be that of Sir Thomas Tyrell, knight banneret, the founder of the south or Tyrell chapel, who died in 1510; there is no trace of any other monument to his memory. The chief interest of Horndon Church lies in its connection with the Tyrells and the remains of the tombs and monuments of this once great family.

Tradition states that a Tyrell was connected with the execution of Queen Anne Boleyn in 1536, and that it was under his direction that the heart or head of the unfortunate queen was taken to Horndon Church.

Early in the 14th century Sir James Tyrell married Margaret, daughter and heir of Sir William Heron; by this

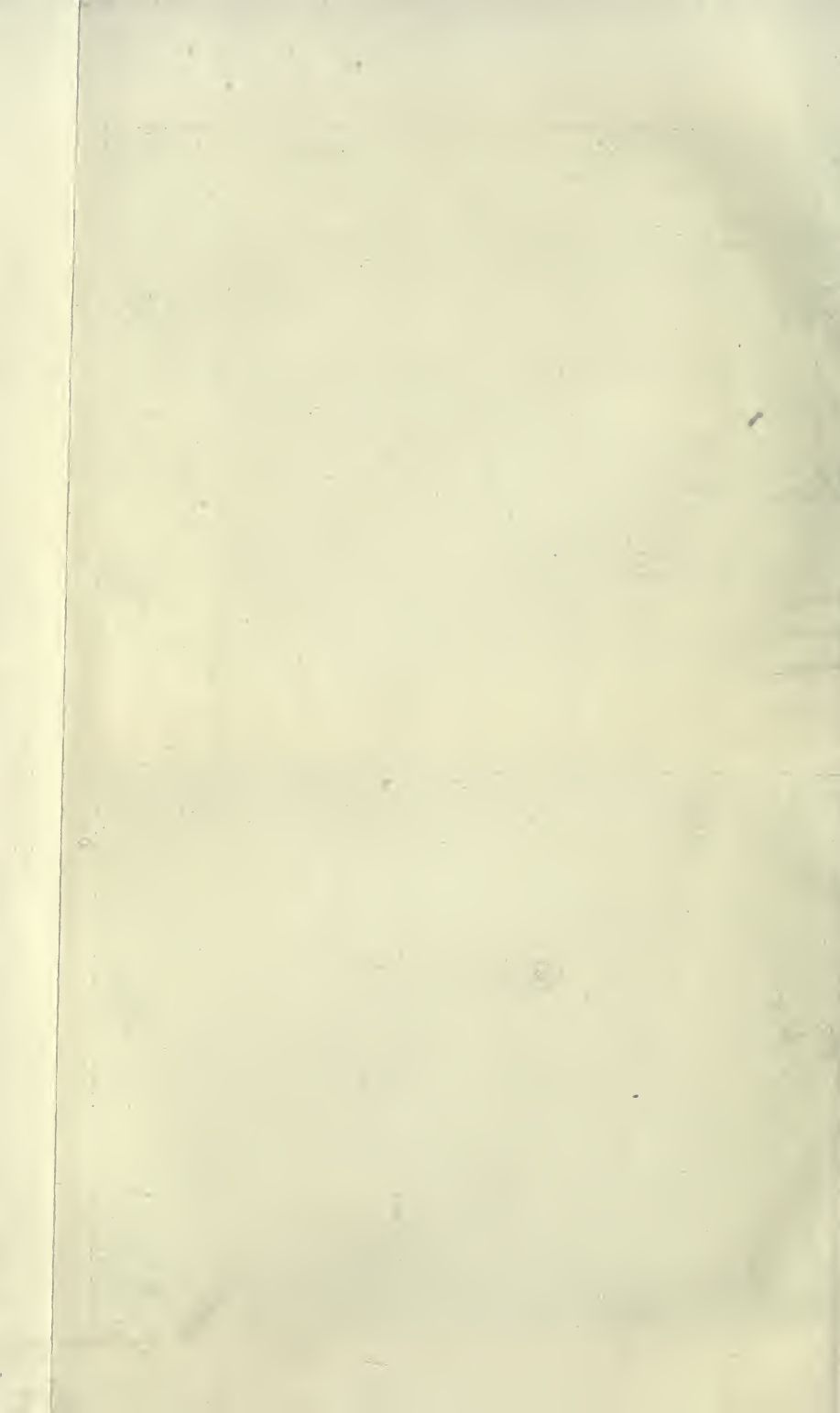


North Transept.

East Horndon Church.



South Transept.





The Font, East Horndon.
Photograph by C. W. Forbes.

THE EARLY CHURCHES OF SOUTH ESSEX.

marriage the manor and property of Heron came into the Tyrell family. From about this time Heron Hall became the family seat, and they continued to reside there until the death of the last survivor in 1766.

The earliest monument in the church of this family is that of Dame Alice Tyrell, who died in 1422. She was the first wife of Sir John Tyrell, and daughter and coheir of Sir William Coggeshall of Little Sandford, Essex. It consists of a remarkably fine incised slab fixed in the chancel floor. She is represented as wearing a graceful loose robe of the period, confined at the waist by a broad band; her hands are in an attitude of prayer with rings on the fingers; she has an ornamental necklace and cross about her neck, and upon her head is a mitre-shaped head-dress, secured by bands across the forehead. The figure is life-size, standing beneath an ornamental canopy, with niches on the sides containing her ten children, six sons and four daughters; the name of each is engraved on a scroll, except the last which is blank.

After her death, Sir John married again; he and his second wife are said to have been buried in the church of the Austin Friars, London.

Sir John Tyrell's son and heir married Anne, daughter of Sir William Marney, knt., of Layer Marney, Essex; it was through this marriage into the Marney family that the north chapel was erected.

In 1442, Henry VI made a grant conferring the advowson of the church on him and his heirs; it remained vested in this family for nearly four hundred years; prior to this the living had been in the hands of the Crown for some considerable time.

Sir Thomas Tyrell is said to have made many handsome gifts to the church, and just before his death began extensive repairs. In his will he gave directions that all restoration work was to be completed, and that "it be made sure that the steeple fall not down." This is rather extraordinary, as the church could not have been built many years, it having been rebuilt probably at the cost and instigation of his father, Sir John Tyrell.

Sir John died in 1476, and was buried according to his directions in the small canopied chantry on the north side of the chancel. In the words of his will: "I bequeath my bodye to be buried in the chancel of the church of Esthoredon, under the place where the Sepulchre is wonte to stande, and I wille

THE EARLY CHURCHES OF SOUTH ESSEX.

that there be a tombe of tymber, or of stone for me and my wif according honestly to our degree." Over the canopied arch of this tomb (which stood in the north or Marney Chapel) was fixed a shield with the arms of Tyrell impaling Marney. In the course of time the tomb, with its brasses and inscriptions, fell out of repair through neglect, and was cleared away. The chapel is now floored over and used as a vestry.

At the last restoration, about five years ago, the remains of the altar tomb were found and restored to its original place. The shield with the coat of arms fell down some years back and was broken into pieces.

One of the most interesting members of this family, so far as this church is concerned, was Sir Thomas Tyrell, born in 1453.

In his will, date 1510, is the following:

First, I commende my soule to Almighty God and blessed Sainte Mary, and to all the holy companie of Hevyn, my body to be buried in the south side of the quire of the parische church of Easthorndon, and there by the discrecion of my Executours to be made a chapell with a convenient tombe over my sayde bodye, to the charge and value of C marks, to be taken of my goodes for bilydnye and makyne of the same. Also I will have a priest to synge for my soule, my friendes' soules and all Christian soules, every Sunday and holiday in the sayde Chapell or church where my said bodye shall reste, duringe the terme of xxx yeres next comynge.

Here we have without doubt the origin of the Tyrell Chapel, which for nearly four hundred years, although forming an important part of the church, was private property. There is, however, no memorial left now of the founder, unless the one near by, in the transept or Petre chantry, was his tomb. Sir Thomas died in 1512, and for about 160 years there is a break in the memorials of this family at Horndon.

In 1540 the widow of a later Sir John Tyrell married Sir William Petre, Secretary of State under Henry VIII, and here we have the first connecting link between the Petre and Tyrell families.

Tracing the family monuments down the next one is to another Sir John Tyrell who died in 1675 and is buried in the south chapel, a slab with the arms of the family bears the following inscription:

Ἐμavροῦ
Semel Decimatus
Bis Incarceratus

In se ipsum
Once decimated
Twice imprisoned

A JACOBEOAN ZOOLOGICAL GARDEN.

Ter Sequestratus	Thrice sequestered
Jacet quoties Spoliatus	He holds his peace
Hic jacet inhumatus	As oft as plundered
Johannes Tyrell	Here lyeth buried
Eques Auratus	John Tyrell, Knight

Obiit Die Martii Anno Domini 1675

Ætatis 82

The above Tyrell was a Royalist and appears to have lost his estates and been imprisoned during the Cromwellian period; he, however, had them returned to him by Charles II.

There is a later monument to Sir Charles Tyrell, Baronet, and Dame Martha his wife, dated 1714.

The fifth and last Baronet, Sir John Tyrell, died in 1766, and is buried in the vaults under the chapel. There is a mural monument to him and his wife on the south wall. Elizabeth, one of their daughters, who died unmarried in 1787, was the last to be buried in the family vault. With the death of this Sir John the title became extinct and the property finally devolved on the surviving daughter, the Countess of Arran. Her husband had the old Hall pulled down, and the materials were sold in 1837; nothing is left except the moat which surrounded it.

The Tyrell Chapel, with its ancient tombs and armour, now belongs to the parish.

[To be continued.]

A JACOBEOAN ZOOLOGICAL GARDEN IN ST. JAMES'S PARK.

BY HENRY SYMONDS, F.S.A.

THOSE who might wish to study the history of this park during the reign of James I, in connection with the King's taste for wild animals, birds, and foreign trees, would not seek for information among the sections of the Exchequer Accounts which deal with the Mint in the Tower of London, and therefore it may be desirable to reproduce in a more accessible form some of the details which are scattered through these documents for a period of about seven years.

A JACOBEOAN ZOOLOGICAL GARDEN.

It would appear that the reason for these extraneous matters being included in the Mint Accounts was the fact that Sir Thomas (afterwards Lord) Knyvett, the Warden of the King's exchange and moneys in the Tower, happened to be also the Keeper of the Palace of Westminster and of the garden and orchard of St. James's; accordingly he takes credit in his accounts as Warden for the sums spent by him upon the park and Spring Gardens. This method of accounting goes to show that the cost of feeding and housing the live stock was defrayed out of the privy purse, and not out of funds obtained from the taxpayers, for the profits arising from the Mint were at that time a part of the private revenue of the Sovereign.

St. James's Park is generally supposed to have been enclosed by Henry VIII, and Charles II is said to have beautified and replanted the domain, but it is, I think, clear that the introduction of animals, birds, and fish must be attributed to James I, and that whatever Charles II did in this direction was only an extension, or, more probably, a revival of the arrangements made by his grandfather.

Spring Gardens, which derived its name from the water which rose to the surface there and supplied the fountains, seems to have been then regarded as a portion of the park, both terms being used to describe the same locality.

John Evelyn speaks of the "extraordinary wild fowle" and "deere of severall countries" which were kept in the park in 1664-5, while Pepys comments in 1661 on the "great variety of fowle which I never saw before." As the diarists of the Restoration period took note of the collection of animals and birds as a surprising novelty, it is not improbable that King James's menagerie had fallen upon evil days during the intervening half century, while Charles I had been occupied with more serious affairs. The documents do not tell us the purchase price of the various specimens, nor whence they were obtained, but only the cost of "meate," supervision, and repairs.

The first reference to the subject is contained in an account for the period ending May 31, 1605, when Sir Thomas Knyvett claims to be allowed for

Sondrye persons, as well used in makeinge of certen houses and defences for orrenge trees and other foren fruites for the beawtifyinge of St. James Parke, 87*l.* 7*s.* 11½*d.*, as also em-

A JACOBEOAN ZOOLOGICAL GARDEN.

ployed for the kepinge of the game of duckes in the said Parke, 7*l.* 11*s.* 1*d.*

(as ordered by warrant of Privy Seal, April 16, 3 James I.)

This suggests the probability that James had a decoy for wild duck and other water-fowl in his park, and that Charles II was not, as has been supposed, the originator of the scheme. It is not unlikely that the place name "Birdcage walk" could be traced to a Jacobean aviary. The mention of orange trees, too, fixes an earlier date for their introduction to this country than was hitherto obtainable, although there is a tradition that such trees were planted by Raleigh at Beddington in Surrey about 1595. Evelyn is quoted by Walford in *Old and New London* as saying that he "first saw orange trees" in the park in 1664,¹ so that they were evidently still uncommon more than fifty years after the date of James's experiment. The King had also planted a mulberry garden on land which is now the site of Buckingham Palace, but the accounts do not make any specific mention of this variety of fruit tree.

The next document covers two years to March 31, 1607, and contains an entry similar to the extract last cited, but with "rayne deare" as an additional charge upon the revenue.

During the currency of the account ending March, 1608, "foxes" had apparently been added to the establishment, and there is also an expenditure of £6 14*s.* on "pease for the deare to bring them to the call." A pond in Upper Spring Garden is laid with 345 feet of Purbeck paving stone, and there is a further item for laying pipes of lead from the conduit head in "Garlandes ground" to the pond in Spring Garden.

In 1609 there is an outlay of £22 10*s.* for "three dragg-nettes to drawe pykes out of the pondes," which may seem to be rather an unsportsmanlike method of keeping down the pike, but apparently the court did not care for coarse fishing.

In the following year a "bever" is mentioned for the first time; accommodation for this animal is provided by "making

¹ Evelyn mentions an orangery at Sir John Shaw's new house at Eltham in 1664, but H. B. Wheatley's edition of the Diary (1906) does not give any account of orange trees in St. James's Park in that year. He mentions those at Beddington in 1700, and states that some of them were then in decay, being 120 years old. This would give 1580 as the year of planting.

A JACOBEOAN ZOOLOGICAL GARDEN.

a bryck wall rounde aboute a ponde." The amusements and the training of the royal family are not neglected, as witness the "makinge of a payre of buttes for the Prince in the Springe Garden."

The account ending March, 1611, furnishes quite a long catalogue of the occupants of the enclosures :

Sondrye persons for work and charges in the park at St. James and the Sprynge Garden there, viz : for meate for the Indian beastes, cranes, puettes, hernes, guynea-hennes, duckes, turtle doves, seagulles, pheasauntes, busterdes, shovelers, the tame facone, red deare, beaver, barbarye shepe and others, 55*l.* 15*s.* 8*d.* ; A nett of 20 yeardes longe and 7 dim. yeardes broade, with lynes and tarringe, 4*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.*

The wages of the weeders of Spring Gardens are charged, together with the cost of the fountains, ponds, and sluices. Devon, in his *Issues of the Exchequer*, states that 6*d.* a day was paid to the man who tended the orange trees and other foreign fruits, and 4*d.* a day for the management of the reindeer and ducks. The same writer quotes an extract from another source at a parallel date, referring to the keeper of the cormorants, ospreys, and otters within the Vine Garden at Westminster, to which the water of the Thames was brought by a sluice. These ponds were filled with carp, tench, barbel, roach, and dace, and the keeper was ordered to travel to the furthest points of the realm to get young cormorants. After 1611 I do not find any entries concerning the park; possibly the Warden of the Mint ceased to control the pleasaunce at Westminster, or, maybe, the King's fancy wandered in another direction.

By a coincidence, the accounts from which I have extracted the foregoing notes confirm an allusion to Knightsbridge Hospital which recently appeared in this Magazine [vol. 13, p. 316].

In the year ending March 31, 1607, William Gurney, Master or Warden of the Hospital at Knightsbridge in Middlesex, received £35 for the charges of bringing a spring of water to the said house by a pipe of lead, for the relief and use of the sick, lame, and impotent people therein. (*See* Declared Accounts, Audit Office, 1595, 5/10, at P.R.O.)

NOTES AND QUERIES.

UNPUBLISHED MSS. RELATING TO THE HOME COUNTIES IN THE COLLECTION OF P. C. RUSHEN.

1784, 7 July.—Assignment of mortgage by demise. Joseph Shirley of Bromley, Kent, Gent., with the privy, etc., of Elizabeth Waylett, late of Croydon, Surrey, and then of Chertsey, widow, relict of George Waylett, late of Croydon, Yeoman, deceased, assigns to John Whiffen, of Blackness in the parish of Keston, Kent, Yeoman, a demise, dated August 1, 1770, made by the said George and Elizabeth Waylett to Shirley for 500 years to secure £1000 and interest, of a messuage or inn near the Bell Inn in Bromley, theretofore in the occupation of Walter Bedford and late in the occupation of Francis Valentine, deceased, but then divided into two cottages or tenements, then or late in the occupation of Samuel Adams and John Wood, together with a piece of ground, 10 ft. in front and 51 ft. in depth, adjoining thereto, lately part of and belonging to the Bell Inn and then made use of as a gateway or passage from the highway into the inn yard; And also a messuage or inn, known as The Bell, in Bromley, theretofore in the occupation of John Beezom, afterwards of Mary Roberts, widow, and Richard Bates, and then or late of the said Richard Bates, with all stables, etc.; on which mortgage £300 only then remained due from the said Elizabeth Waylett, who became entitled to the premises on the death of the said George Waylett.

1789, 4 November.—Assignment of the moiety of a mortgage by demise—by Stephen Page Seager, of Maidstone, Kent, brewer, to John Elvy, junior, of Maidstone, draper. Reciting a mortgage by demise for 1000 years, dated January 12, 1779, by Thomas Andrewes to Elizabeth Russell of Cowley Street, Westminster, spinster, of a messuage, etc., and 4 orchards and certain lands, containing together 90 acres, in East Malling, formerly in the occupation of James Andrewes, uncle, and since of Thomas Andrewes, father of Thomas Andrewes the party, and Francis Hooper, and then or late in the several occupations of the said Thomas Andrewes the party and another; also a messuage in East Malling, formerly in the occupation of John Goodhugh, since then of Richard Baskett, and then of John Drinker, and a messuage and 4 pieces of land, containing together 11 acres, in East Malling, formerly in the occupation of William Lemmey, since of George Tanner and Thomas Andrewes the party, and then or late of him and another, and a barn called Sweets Barn and 40 acres in East Malling, formerly in the occupation of William Tomlyn, afterwards of the said James Andrewes, afterwards of the said Thomas Andrewes the father, and then late of Thomas Andrewes the party, and 1 acre in East Malling, formerly in the occupation of — Warren, and a piece of meadow, called Lunsford Mead, of 2 acres, in East Malling, formerly in the occupation of William Tomlyn, afterwards of Thomas Golding, and then or late of John Golding, to secure £1000 and interest. And reciting a deed dated May 7, 1789, between Thomas Parratt of Barton Street, in the parish of St. John the Evangelist, Westminster, gent., sole executor of Sarah Butler, late of Cowley St., in the said parish, spinster, deceased, and the said Seager and Elizabeth his wife, and the said Elvy and Jane his wife, which said deed recited the will of Elizabeth Russell, dated December 17, 1787, of which Sarah Butler was residuary legatee and sole executrix, and the death of Elizabeth Russell, January 29, 1788, and proof of her will in P.C.C., and the title of Sarah Butler to the said mortgage thereunder, and the will of Sarah Butler, dated October 28, 1788, by which she bequeathed the said mortgage to the said Elizabeth Seager and Jane Elvy, as tenants in common and appointed Thomas Parratt, sole executor thereof, and the

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death of Sarah Butler, March 3, 1789, and proof of her will in P.C.C., and witnessed that Parratt assigned the mortgage to the said Stephen Page Seager and John Elvy as tenants in common. It was witnessed by the present deed that Seager assigned to John Elvy, junior, for £500, a moiety of the said mortgage debt and the securities for the same, subject to Andrewes' equity of redemption.

ANCIENT MONUMENTS.—In *The Times* of May 31, I notice that "Agrimensorial Marks" are mentioned among the interesting list of Ancient Monuments, which the Middlesex County Council are forwarding to the Office of Works, as worthy of preservation. This probably is the first occasion on which the attention of a Government Department has been drawn to the vestiges of the comprehensive land surveys carried out by the Romans during the first and second centuries A.D., for the purpose of planting rural settlements in the Imperial Province of Britain.

The Middlesex area, which once formed a part of the territory of the important *Londinium Civitas*, still bears traces of the system of local roadways, which were planned to conform to the alignment of the parallel and cross parallel lines, with which the trained *Agrimensores* marked out the country side.

For example; a line drawn from the ancient survey mound on Hampstead Heath to the site of the former Tothill at Westminster,¹ gives alignments of ancient rural ways between Harefield and Stepney, as, E.N.E. to W.S.W. and N.N.W. to S.S.E. This is further shown by the position of four known Surveyors' marks, viz. Wealdstone, Sudbury Stone, Oswulf's Stone, and London Stone.

Again, the survey line from the *botontinus* or mound in Syon Park to the Tothill (Totynton was an early form of the name of Teddington) which stood near the lodge to Bushy Park, gives the key to the direction of the network of ancient roads which stretch across south-western Middlesex into Bucks to the *botontinus* at Salt Hill, well known to Etonians as *Ad Montem*. Here the lay is, E. by S. to W. by N., and N. by E. to S. by W. Lastly the orientation of the old ways above Tottenham and up the Lea valley, is nearly E. to W. and N. to S. The straight courses of these Roman by-ways, and their separate alignments within each of these three divisions of Middlesex, become very apparent when shown upon a map devoid of other details.

Hitherto but little attention has been paid to Agrimensorial Mounds, stones and other marks, which are to be found in those parts of the country where the Romans placed their settlements. But in Essex, Kent, Hants, Middlesex, and in the districts outside Lincoln, Silchester, and York, where investigation has been made, it is further found that the cluster of cottages around the village church is situated, in parish after parish, upon lines and cross lines running in parallels nine furlongs apart. The Isle of Thanet furnishes a good

¹ See *The Builder*, Dec. 22, 1911.

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example of this peculiar feature. As this distance is also the interval between the lines which the Roman Surveyors ran out in Britain, an interesting question arises as to a continuity of settlement upon the same spot, from the period of the Roman occupation.

The time is surely past for antiquaries to rest content with any finds, which the spade may unearth from time to time, and it is to be hoped that possibly this new field for research, as above indicated, may commend itself to the recently-established Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies, or to persons interested in the science of ancient land surveying.

Though agriculture was in a flourishing condition during the first half of the fourth century,—which, as Professor Oman remarks, “was probably the most prosperous epoch which the British provinces ever knew,”—yet little is known of the rural administrative system under which such results were obtained. But, from the writings of the *Gromatici Veteres*, much information is forthcoming about their survey marks, many of which still remain in our midst; and these in turn throw considerable light upon the former parcelling out of the land, and the extent of Romano-British settlements.

The Royal Commission, which recently issued a valuable report upon the Antiquities of Herts, seems to have overlooked these humble rural boundary marks, which I trust will not be the case when other Romanized districts come to be considered. Much has been written about the remains of Roman towns, fortresses, walls, temples, altars, and villas found in England, but this information should now be supplemented, so as to embrace the country life of the Romano-British *Coloni*, the extent of their rural settlements, and means of inter-communication.—MONTAGU SHARPE, *Westminster*.

NOTES ON OLD CLAPHAM.—Situating on the north side of Clapham Common between Macaulay Road and the Chase, a few interesting old houses at present remain. No. 11, one of two old tiled cottages, has a piece of very old panelling.

No. 13 has a fine old iron gateway with the armorial bearings of a former resident on the top of it. Nos. 14 to 23 formerly known as Church Buildings, are attributed to Wren, and were erected 1713-20. No. 14 is known as “Lord Macaulay’s School House.” Granville Sharp, one of the leading pioneers of the anti-slavery movement formerly resided here, and a useful educational work was carried on with negroes from Sierra Leone, many of them sons of the Chiefs. He died in 1813, a tablet to his memory, by Chantrey, is in the south transept of Westminster Abbey. Then followed a school, conducted by William Greaves; among the scholars were Thomas Babington Macaulay 1807-12 (afterwards Lord Macaulay), the second Lord Teignmouth, Samuel Wilberforce and other children of the

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"Clapham Sect." The Macaulays lived in the High Street, the part that is now called "The Pavement"; they left in 1820.

I have been told that Eliza Cook (the poetess) stayed some time in this house, about 1863 or 1864. The entrance hall has a fireplace, and there is a pump on the top landing, which is rather unusual.

Nos. 22 and 23 were formerly one house, "Clarence House," where Tom Hood, the poet, was a scholar. No. 22 has a portico entrance, with a crest thereon and there is a curious balcony at the back of the house.

At the corner of the Chase is "The Hostel of God" formerly known as "The Elms," it was the house of the celebrated architect, Sir Charles Barry, who died here in 1860. His most famous work is the Houses of Parliament, for which his design was chosen in 1835.

Samuel Pepys, who died in 1703, was a resident on the north side of the Common.

Nos. 39, 41 and 43 are also said to be the work of Wren, and there are a few other interesting old houses (including No. 61) about here.

St. Paul's Church, Rectory Grove, contains a few fine old monuments to the Atkins family; Sir Richard Atkins, 1689, Lord of the Manor of Clapham, Lady Rebecca Atkins, and children.

South Side. The Post Office was formerly a chapel; the Mount Pond, and the Nine Elm trees are figured in many of the old prints.

Spurgeon's Poplar Tree (railed round) is where Mr. Spurgeon once preached, over fifty years ago; it is located near Cavendish Road.

Old Clapham by J. W. Grover and *A Sect that moved the World*, by Telford, give much interesting history of Old Clapham.—F. WHITE.

LONDON'S HOUSES OF HISTORICAL INTEREST.—The London County Council have recently placed memorial tablets on the following houses.

No. 88, Paradise Street, Rotherhithe, S.E., where Huxley lived in 1841.

No. 12, Seymour Street, Portman Square, W., where Michael William Balfe, the composer of *The Bohemian Girl*, and other operas now forgotten, lived from 1861 to 1864.

No. 32, Craven Street, Strand, W.C., where Heinrich Heine, the German poet and essayist, lodged in 1827.

Devonshire Lodge, No. 28, Finchley Road, N.W., where Tom Hood, the poet, died in 1845.

GRAVESEND.—Our Kent readers will be pleased to learn that Mr. Alex. J. Philip is shortly to publish the first volume of a *History of Gravesend*, founded on the interesting series of articles that have appeared in this magazine, but revised and considerably enlarged. We wish Mr. Philip all success and adequate support. The volumes

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will be published by Messrs. Stanley Paul and Co., of 31, Essex St., W.C., at the subscription price of 12s. 6d. net for each volume, bound in sealskin. The first volume will cover the Pre-historic, Roman, and Anglo-Saxon periods.

UNDERGROUND PASSAGES.—With reference to the footnote on page 136 to "Two Ancient Sussex Hostelrys," there is a long and very interesting underground passage at Oatlands, Weybridge, which was under Oatlands Palace (now pulled down). I was in the passage some years ago and believe it still exists. It is in a field adjoining the still remaining walled garden of the Palace. Entrance is gained by lifting a large wooden cover and descending a ladder about ten feet. You are then in a square chamber with two bricked-up doors of Tudor brickwork. At the side is the entrance to the brick passage which extends some hundred yards to a large cistern. Beyond this I did not go, but the passage extends some hundred yards more. The whole of the roof is in the Tudor form of brick, and from the entrance the passage runs the opposite way. There is a trickle of water apparently to fill the cistern at one end and overflow at the other. The passage is high and wide enough to allow a man to walk upright.

The old *hollow* walls of the garden still exist.

I believe the gardens and passage are in the occupation of a market gardener (at least they were when I was there) who kindly took me through. It is most interesting and well worth a visit.

I have my own theory on these remains, which I consider were used for two purposes. But it should be seen, and soon, as I understand the land is to be built on.—WALTER WITHALL, 18, *Bedford Row*.

PARRY: DAY: PYKE.—In the note on Edmond Halley junior, Surgeon, R.N., in *The Home Countries Magazine*, vol. xiii, pages 240-241, mention was made of John Parry who, as of St. Mildred, Bread Street, London, married Mary Freeman, of Greenwich, July 31, 1744. At the Vicar-General's office is an entry: "July 30, 1744, Parry-Freeman," relating to the same couple, but the original "allegation" has not been examined. Mr. R. J. Beever, M.A., who has furnished me so much interesting material has succeeded in making a comparison of the original signatures of John Parry as a witness to the will of James Pylse (1750-1751) and to receipts for pension money paid to his mother-in-law, Mrs. Sybilla Halley, the surgeon's widow. The result indicates clearly that the signatories were identical. In all those signatures the letter P has three curvilinear triangles at the base of the stem. None of the letters show any marked dissimilarity. Another comparison might be made of the signature of this John Parry in his "allegation" for a (second) marriage-license, at Rochester, Kent, in 1766. As to his first wife, Mary Freeman, I

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still seek to establish the existence or identity of her (supposed) sister, who may or may not have been the Sarah Day, widow, who, in 1746, married William Pyke, son of William Pyke, a brother of the testator, James Pyke, above mentioned. A recent examination of the parish register at St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, did not reveal any new data on this point. Further search at or near Deptford might be more successful. Any additional facts would be gratefully received by EUGENE F. McPIKE, 135, *Park Row, Chicago*.

HEADLEY, SURREY.—In the vestry of the restored church are two mural monuments, whose time-worn inscriptions I deciphered with some difficulty:

(1) Neare this place lye Interred the body of Margaret, the daughter of WILLIAM & MARY WARREN of the City of London, who was buried the (26) day of . . ., 1674. And the body of John, sonne of the said William & Mary, who was buried . . . December, 1675.

(2) Vnder ne^{ath} Lyeth y^e body of M^{rs} Elizabeth Leate, daughter of M^r Nicholas Leat, Turkey Marchant, a worthy and eminent citizen of London, and of Joanna, daughter of M^r Richard Stapers, Alderman of y^t city, who with many of their Children are interred in St. Martin Oteswich church in London.

She deceased ye 5 of May, Anno Domini 1680, Being aged 80 years.

Though after my skin wormes destroy this body, yet in my flesh shall I see God. Job, 19, 26.

Her nephew, Richard Wyld, Rector of the Parish, with whom she lived ye last six yeares of her life, placed this as a memorial of her.

Above this inscription are a coat of arms and crest—the tinctures much discoloured—apparently silver, on a fess gules a lion couchant gold, between three (fire-balls?) sable, flames gold. Crest—a fire-beacon sable between two wings silver, issuing from a mural coronet gold. Among the slightly differentiated arms ascribed by Burke to Leete or Lete, the description most nearly corresponding to this is: “Argent, a fess gules between two rolls of matches sable kindled proper. Crest—on a ducal coronet an antique lamp or, fire proper.” —ETHEL LEGA-WEEKES.

SLIPSHOE LANE, REIGATE.—In Reigate, near to the junction of the High Street at its western end with London Road, is the entrance to a narrow thoroughfare, containing some ancient half-timbered houses with overhanging upper storeys, and boasting the curious name of “SLIPSHOE LANE.”

NOTES AND QUERIES.

A MS. Title Book of the manor of Reigate, preserved in the Priory Estate Office in the old Town Hall, Reigate, yields what may perhaps be an intermediate, if not the original, form of this name in the item (p. 61) “. . . Hartwood Park, *alias* SLIPSHATH Field.”

I have found no allusion to it in Manning and Bray, Aubrey, or other topographies that I have skimmed; and an explanation, orally repeated to me, that this was the spot where pilgrims, digressing from their way to Canterbury, removed their shoes before proceeding to pay their devotions in the Chapel of the Holy Cross (the proximity of whose site is still commemorated by the sign of the Red Cross Hotel) has left the impression of being *ben trovato* rather than *vero*.

I therefore venture to submit a suggestion or two of my own as to the derivation of the name.

My first idea was that it might possibly be a corruption of SLEVESHOLM, the name of a Priory on the Isle of Slevesholm in Melwood Marsh, co. Norfolk, that was granted by William, third Earl of Warenne and Surrey, as a cell to the Priory of Castleacre, Norfolk. The remoteness of the place might seem to disqualify at once the notion; but it is conceivable that one of the Earls of that line, as lords of Reigate and patrons of the Chapel of Holy Cross, might have given to Slevesholm Priory the rents of some lands or messuages in the lane, which is within or near the precincts of the chapel.

More recently, however, I have gleaned the following bits of information which enable me to put a less far-fetched construction on the word in question:

From *The Catholic Dictionary*.—Wayside chapels intended for the use of travellers were often to be found on the way leading to some pilgrimage shrine. The Slipper Chapel in Norfolk is a well preserved example, formerly used by the pilgrims going to the shrine of St. Mary of Walshingham.

From *A Dictionary of Ecclesiastical Terms*, by John Bumpus.—SLYPE, or SLIP: the term for the slip of ground, or passage, which led to the cemetery, lying usually between the transept and the Chapter-House in the Monastic Cathedrals. At New College, Oxford, the “Slype” was a slip of ground on the north side of the hall and chapel, where were the stables and other offices. The Slype at Winchester has a Latin motto to the effect that one way led to the choir and the other to the Market. It was opened in 1632 to prevent the use of the cathedral as a thoroughfare.

From *The Old Road*, by William Hyde.—“We crossed the Shillingbourne just above Shere, . . . and came to the wonderful church of Seale, standing on its little mound close to which the track ran. We noted this, and we plodded on to Shoelands. . . . The name has been connected with Shooling, almsgiving. Seale was

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built at the expense of Waverly during the enthusiasm that followed the first Pilgrimages, just after 1200. The names of the hamlets have been thought to record the pilgrimage. How Seale (a name found elsewhere just off the Old Road) may do so, I cannot tell."

The obvious inference is that the lane at Reigate was a slype connected with the chapel or establishment of Holy Cross; and it may be that pilgrims and others were wont to give alms to the chapel or to beggars, in passing through it; or that it was lined with almshouses.

The old name of London Road, by the way, would appear to have been "London Lane"; for in the Title Book above referred to (p. 161) there is mention of "a messuage, . . . parcel of a tenement called Castle Butts, at the south end of London Lane." Another entry (p. 97) refers to "A certain messuage or croft, part of the Castle Butts, in the Borough of Santon."—ETHEL LEGA-WEEKES.

REGENT'S PARK: CENTENARY [p. 159].—Supplementing my previous note under this head the following, as quoted by *The Times* from its issue of April 20, 1812, may prove of interest:

Regent's Park.—This ornamental enclosure is proceeding with rapidity. The plantations, considering the shortness of the time since the work commenced, are in considerable forwardness. The ground extends from Portland Place nearly to the foot of Primrose Hill, and is of a proportionate breadth, spreading westwards nearly to Lisson Green. The grand approach is from Portland Place, which is now extending towards the south, on the site of the recently demolished Foley House: but the new buildings here do not appear to be constructing with any suitable regard to the elegant uniformity of Portland Place. At the north end of Portland Place a circus is forming, surrounded by trees, across the centre of which runs the new road. On the north of this circle, directly opposite Portland Place, a good road, planted on each side, is formed to enter the Park; the whole of which is nearly fenced in, and bordered with plantations; and a coach-drive made round the whole extent. In the enclosed central part of the Park, and exactly fronting the entrance road, a tolerably spacious avenue is preparing, to be shaded by four rows of forest trees. This passes over the highest ground in the Park, commanding a view of Hampstead and Highgate, and will certainly form a very pleasant promenade for the inhabitants of Marybone and that vicinity. In the south-western part of the park, a large circus is laid out, and partly planted, around which a number of houses are intended to be erected. To the north of this, on the more level ground, the new barracks for the Life Guards are to be placed, which, we

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understand, are to be finished in a style of rather more elegance than most buildings of that description in the neighbourhood of the metropolis. Advantage will be taken of the means the ground affords for increasing the picturesque beauties of the spot, as well as for general convenience, by the formation of two or three sheets of water in the level situations. Besides the houses round the circus, many other spots are to be let for the erection of detached villas, near the edges of the park, and in other good situations: but exclusive of the different roads for the amusement of those who go in carriages, there will be a considerable portion of the whole reserved for the recreation and pleasure of the promenaders. The proposed intersection of the southern part of the park by the projected public canal from Paddington to Blackwall, would certainly add nothing to the attractions of the place; but, it should seem, would be, in several respects, inconvenient. When the roads are all completed, this park will unquestionably be a very agreeable place of residence, but not a few will regret the loss of those open and verdant fields which formed one of the most airy and pleasant resorts of the pedestrians of the metropolis.

It is a curious, not to say unpleasant, fact that in the centennial year of the making of this invaluable "lung" of north-west London one reads in the press of much recent "uglification" of our Park at the hands of the builder, with like threatened projects in the future. Such attempts should surely meet with emphatic protest from a public jealous in its guardianship of so noble a domain.—CECIL CLARKE.

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WALTON-ON-THE-HILL, Surrey (p. 77).—I should like to add somewhat to my previous note on Walton church and font. Mr. Lawrence Weaver, F.S.A., in his great work on *English Lead Work*, gives an illustration of this "magnificent" example, classing it as Norman, but among those which "belong to the end of the 12th, if not to the beginning of the 13th century," and remarking that it is among the eleven the chief feature of which is a large arcade, generally with prominent figures under the arches. In the Walton font, as the author observes, the figures are seated; but he would seem to have made a slip in stating that there are twelve of these figures, that only three patterns are used for them, that they have no nimbus, and that all hold books.

From my notes taken before reading any description (and after-

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wards verified by the Rector) it appears that there are but nine figures, or, more strictly, eight and a half; that four—not three—slightly different patterns were used and repeated, the fifth and ninth figures being identical in design with the first of the series, and that all have a nimbus. Nos. 3 and 4 hold a book or scroll in the left hand, No. 2 has none; Nos. 1, 2, and 3 have the right hand raised in the attitude of benediction, while in No. 4 it grasps folds of the robe, the arm being set “akimbo.” The heads are of the familiar Norman type, round and wide-browed, and are very salient.

The enrichments of the spandrels and of the top border are remarkably delicate, and so far as can be judged from a photograph of one of the six Gloucestershire fonts, seems of a more developed stage in design than these; its flowing foliated arabesques introducing ogee as well as circular curves, whereas the border-ornament of the others appears to be but a multiplication of small, detached, simple details. Of the six Gloucestershire fonts, Mr. Weaver remarks that their general treatment is that of Anglo-Saxon times, but that the leadworkers was a peculiarly conservative craft, and that it is likely we have here a Norman plumber, using A.S. casting patterns. I am not sure whether the Walton font is included under this suggestion, but it is ascribed to the same period.

In the outside of the north chancel wall is a recess, that some have miscalled an Easter Sepulchre, but which is really the tomb of the founder. It used to bear the inscription—now flaked away from the stone—but of which a copy was taken by the late Mr. Greenhill many years ago: “JOHANNES DE WALTON, HUIUS ECCLESIAE FUNDATOR,” and the date (presumably in Roman numerals) “1286, A.D.”—ETHEL LEGA-WEEKES.

REVIEWS.

FLEET STREET IN SEVEN CENTURIES; being a History of the Growth of London beyond the Walls into the Western Liberty, and of Fleet Street in our Time; by Walter George Bell, author of *The Thames from Chelsea to the Nore*; with a Foreword by Sir William Purdie Treloar, Bt., Alderman of Farringdon Without. Sir Isaac Pitman and Sons, Ltd.; pp. xiv, 608; 15s. net.

We have nothing but the highest praise for this volume. It is one of the most important works on London Topography that has appeared for many years. Mr. Bell has chosen a wonderfully fine subject, and he has dealt worthily with it. The amount of research is prodigious—the copious references and foot-notes are sufficient evidence of that—printed and MS. sources of information, parish registers, wardmote books, etc., have been exhaustively searched and laid under

REVIEWS.

contribution. Indeed, with so vast a mass of material it would have been easy to come to grief, as not a few painstaking authors do, by over-elaboration of detail. Mr. Bell, however, combines in a manner as pleasing as it is rare, the charm of a graphic and fluent writer, with the care and accuracy of an antiquary. The result is a work of quite unusual merit, eminently readable and picturesque, and yet a reference book in the highest sense of the term. The only defect is one that we constantly have to grumble at, an inadequate index.

The Story of Fleet Street! And what a story is unfolded! Beginning with the gradual acquisition of land by the various religious houses, including the Templars (a special map showing the amount of church property is almost startling), we pass on to the medieval suburb, the coming and growth of the lawyers, the changes under Henry VIII, old printers and booksellers, Alsatia and the Playhouses, the Plague and the Great Fire, old taverns and coffee-houses, the banks, etc., and wind up with the newspapers and the clang of the modern printing-press. The story is even more fascinating to us than that of the City itself; for while the early history of the City, after the abandonment of Britain by the Romans, still remains obscure, we can trace the growth of Fleet Street from its very beginnings to the present time. Mr. Bell has enriched his history with a wealth of anecdote and illustrative fact; he has also a pretty sense of humour, as evidenced by his statement, after recording the fact that in early days a whetstone was the token of a liar, that to-day it is not possible to buy such an article in Fleet Street! The 46 maps and illustrations are well chosen; many have been specially drawn, while others are taken from old prints.

As it is the function of the critic to criticize, we venture to ask why the name of the Marshals, Earls of Pembroke, is spelt Mareschel, which is neither English nor French. The arms in the Temple Hall are, if we are not mistaken, those of Readers, not Treasurers. The dropsical heroine mentioned on p. 61 was Letia la Mede-Mackare (*i.e.*, the maker of mead), not Lame de Machare. Ben Jonson (born about 1573) could hardly have worked on the Lincoln's Inn Gate-house, which bears the date of 1518. Nonsuch Palace was not at Greenwich (p. 204). Simon Pass, the well-known early 17th-century engraver, appears as S. Pals on p. 263. These are all the corrections we have noticed, and, considering the extraordinary wide range of Mr. Bell's book, they are remarkably few.

INDEX TO THE CHARTERS AND ROLLS in the Department of Manuscripts, British Museum; edited by Henry John Ellis, Assistant in the Department of Manuscripts. Vol. II, Religious Houses and other Corporations and Index Locorum for Acquisitions from 1882 to 1900; pp. iv, 896.

The assistance that such a monumental index as this gives to those engaged in topographical research cannot be overrated. All the references to individual places, religious houses, and so on, are brought together, thus saving hours of searching, and doing away with the possibility (a very real danger) of overlooking some important document. A very useful feature is a separate list under counties. The public owe warm thanks to the Trustees and to those officers engaged in compiling this index.

ANCIENT CHURCHES ROUND CROYDON, by Lindley Latham. Reprinted from *The Croydon Guardian*; pp. 48; price 6d.

Mr. Latham deals with 17 churches in the neighbourhood of Croydon, with a short description of the architecture, list of brasses and monuments, notes on the bells, etc. A particularly useful feature is the number of inscriptions copied *verbatim*. We hope that the author will be induced to continue so good a work, until he eventually completes the whole county.

REVIEWS.

THE MANOR AND MANORIAL RECORDS, by Nathaniel J. Hone. Methuen and Co., "The Antiquary's Books"; pp. xiv, 411; 7s. 6d. net. Second edition.

We are glad to see that Mr. Hone's picturesque and accurate work has arrived at a second edition. No better introductory study could be found to a very difficult and complicated subject.

WHERE TO LIVE ROUND LONDON; Southern Side. The Homeland Reference Books. 1s. net. New edition.

A new edition of this useful handbook has brought matters up to date, and also contains some new features. The most important of these is a table, showing at a glance the average rents, rates, charges for gas and electric light, etc., in each district. A number of pretty illustrations are given.

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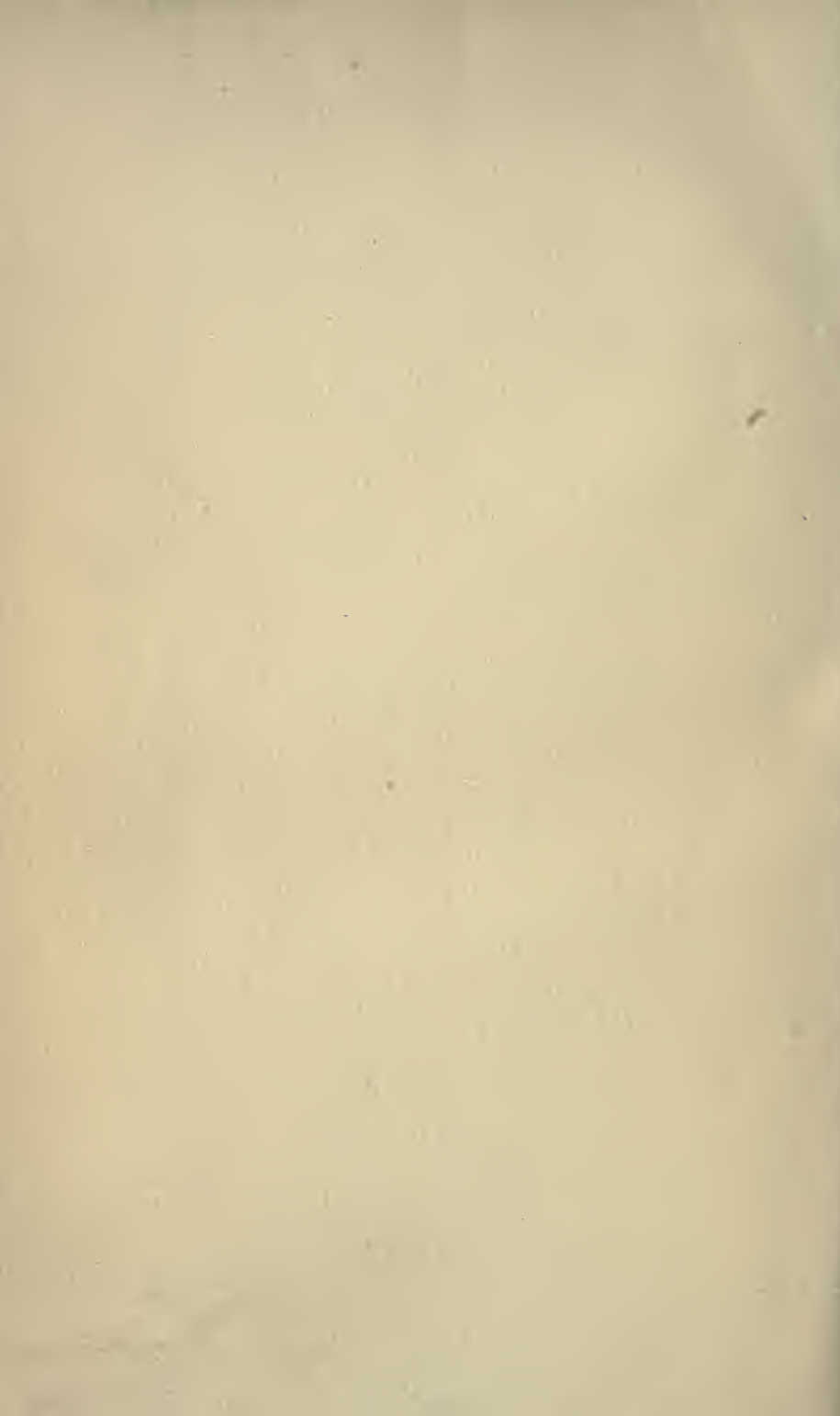
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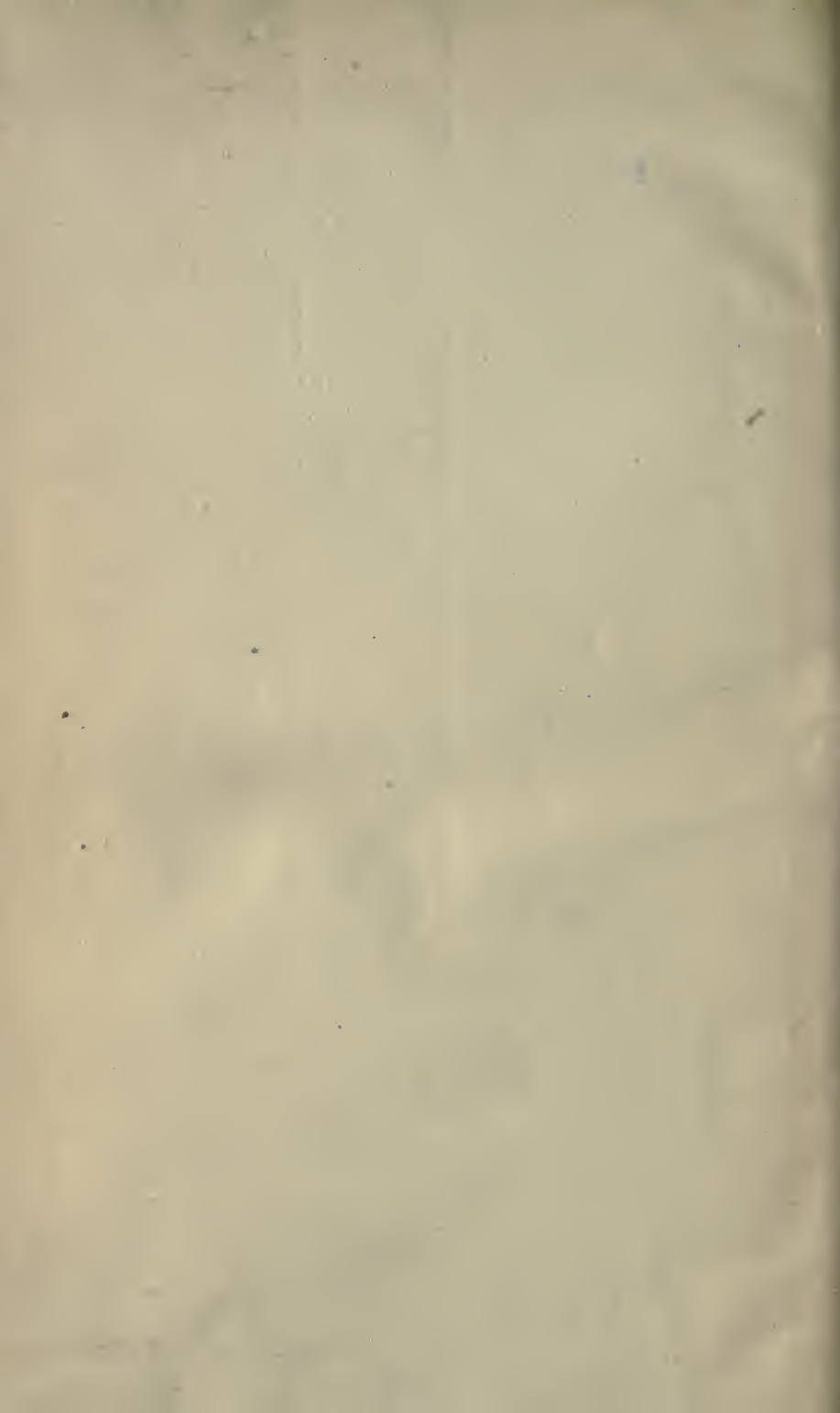




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